

# ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND THE RHETORIC OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM

DREW W. BILLINGS



VISIT...

LANZAROTE  
*Caliente*.COM





## **ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND THE RHETORIC OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM**

Acts of the Apostles is normally understood as a historical report of events of the early church and serves as the organizing centerpiece of the New Testament canon. In this book, Drew W. Billings demonstrates that Acts was written in conformity with broader representational trends and standards found on imperial monuments and in the epigraphic record of the early second century. Bringing an interdisciplinary approach to a text of critical importance, he compares the methods of representation in Acts with visual and verbal representations that were common during the reign of the Roman emperor Trajan (98–117 CE). Billings argues that Acts adopts the rhetoric of Roman imperialism as articulated in the images and texts from the period. His study bridges the fields of classics, art history, gender studies, Jewish studies, and New Testament studies in exploring how early Christian texts relate to wider patterns in the cultural production of the Roman Empire.

Drew W. Billings received his PhD from McGill University in 2016. He is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Religion at the University of Miami in Florida and has taught at Kalamazoo College, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Pepperdine University, St. Michael's College, and McGill University.





ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND  
THE RHETORIC OF ROMAN  
IMPERIALISM



DREW W. BILLINGS

University of Miami



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107187856](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107187856)

DOI: 10.1017/9781316946251

© Cambridge University Press 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Billings, Drew W., author.

Title: Acts of the Apostles and the rhetoric of Roman imperialism / Drew W. Billings.

Description: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2017. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017008191 | ISBN 9781107187856 (hardback: paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Acts – Criticism, interpretation, etc. | Bible.

Acts – History of Biblical events. | Bible. Acts – History of contemporary events. |

Church history – Primitive and early church, ca. 30–600. |

Rome – Politics and government – 30 B.C.–284 A.D. | Imperialism. |

Rome – History – Empire, 30 B.C.–476 A.D.

Classification: LCC BS2625.52 .B55 2017 | DDC 226.6/067–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017008191>.

ISBN 978-1-107-18785-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## IN MEMORIAM

*In memory of the late Ellen Bradshaw Aitken, former dean and professor of the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill University, and my advisor on this project from the very beginning. Ellen is alive and well in the memory of her students, as she serves as a hero for many of us fortunate enough to have studied with her as doctoral students. Ellen's contribution to my life is simply unquantifiable. It is with a great sense of pride that I count myself as one of her students.*





# CONTENTS

|                                                                    |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| List of Illustrations                                              | page ix   |
| Acknowledgments                                                    | xi        |
| List of Abbreviations                                              | xiii      |
| <b>Introduction: Acts and Empire</b>                               | <b>1</b>  |
| Review of Scholarship on Acts and Empire                           | 3         |
| Dating Acts                                                        | 11        |
| Overview of Chapters                                               | 14        |
| <b>1 Acts and Monumental Historiography</b>                        | <b>17</b> |
| What Kind of History?                                              | 18        |
| The Multimedia Context of Antiquity                                | 23        |
| The Column of Trajan and the Rhetoric of Monumental Historiography | 27        |
| Continuous Narrative Style                                         | 37        |
| Verisimilitude                                                     | 43        |
| Encomiastic Rhetorical Style                                       | 48        |
| Conclusion: The Book of Acts as an Apostolic Monument              | 52        |
| <b>2 Imperial Virtues and Provincial Representations</b>           | <b>53</b> |
| The Emperor in the Roman World                                     | 54        |
| Trajanic <i>Indulgentia</i>                                        | 58        |
| Trajanic Discourses of <i>Imperium</i>                             | 64        |
| Trajanic Patterns of Provincial Representation                     | 68        |
| Monumentalizing Trajan as Patron of the People                     | 75        |
| Conclusion: Trajanic Standards of Representation                   | 88        |
| <b>3 Paul and the Politics of a Public Portraiture</b>             | <b>90</b> |
| Becoming Paul (Acts 8–13)                                          | 94        |
| Paul and the Patronage of Communities                              | 102       |

|                                                        |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Paul in Lystra (Acts 14)                               | 102        |
| Paul in Ephesus (Acts 19)                              | 110        |
| Paul in Malta (Acts 27)                                | 114        |
| The Political Significance of Universalism in Acts     | 121        |
| Representations of Provincials on the Column of Trajan | 128        |
| Conclusion: The Politics of a Public Portraiture       | 130        |
| <b>4 Acts and Anti-Jewish Propaganda</b>               | <b>132</b> |
| Narrative Representations of Paul's Jewish Opponents   | 132        |
| Acts 1–7, 12: Jerusalem                                | 135        |
| Acts 9: Damascus                                       | 136        |
| Acts 13: Cyprus and Antioch                            | 137        |
| Acts 14: Iconium and Lystra                            | 138        |
| Acts 17: Thessalonica, Beroea, and Athens              | 139        |
| Acts 18–19: Corinth and Ephesus                        | 139        |
| Acts 20–28: Final Voyage to Jerusalem                  | 140        |
| Anti-Jewish Misanthropy in Acts and Antiquity          | 142        |
| Anti-Jewish Propaganda as Imperial Rhetoric            | 147        |
| Anti-Jewish Rhetoric during the Reign of Trajan        | 149        |
| Representations of Barbarians on the Column of Trajan  | 158        |
| Conclusion: Acts and Jewish Customs                    | 162        |
| <b>5 Women, Gender, and Roman Imperial Masculinity</b> | <b>164</b> |
| Women and Gender in Luke–Acts                          | 165        |
| Acts and Greco-Roman Masculinity                       | 171        |
| The Column of Trajan and Roman Imperial Masculinity    | 176        |
| Conclusion: Engendering Empire                         | 186        |
| <b>Conclusion</b>                                      | <b>189</b> |
| Select Bibliography                                    | 192        |
| Index                                                  | 226        |

## ILLUSTRATIONS

All images are the author's photographs taken of the Column Trajan in Rome and the Column's sculptural frieze from the collection of plaster casts, which were created in 1864 from the galvanoplasty of Napoleon III's campaign from 1862 to 1863. These casts are owned by the Vatican Museum though on permanent loan to the Museo della Civiltà Romana since 1951.

|                                                                                                  |                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Column of Trajan, Rome, c. 113 CE                                                             | <i>page 29</i> |
| 2. Spiraling sculptural frieze on the Column of Trajan, Rome,<br>c. 113 CE                       | 30             |
| 3. Scene III: Danuvius rising out of the river Danube                                            | 32             |
| 4. Scene XII: Trajan stares straight while legionaries dig a moat and<br>build a stone structure | 33             |
| 5. Scene XVII: First contact scene between Romans and Dacians                                    | 34             |
| 6. Scene CXXI: Dacian stronghold and mass suicide with liquid poison                             | 34             |
| 7. Scene CXXIII: Dacians extend their hand expecting to receive<br>mercy and pardon from Trajan  | 35             |
| 8. Scene XXXIII: Soldiers load boats with supplies with stone<br>amphitheater in the background  | 42             |
| 9. Scene XLIII: Auxiliary soldier carrying a sack of rewards he<br>received from Trajan          | 63             |
| 10. Scene LXXV: Trajan surrounded by three Dacians at his feet                                   | 64             |
| 11. Scene XXVI: Roman soldier successfully fording a river                                       | 116            |
| 12. Scene XXXI: Dacians drowning from unsuccessful water crossing                                | 118            |
| 13. Scene XXXIV: Trajan as helmsman                                                              | 119            |
| 14. Scene CVIII: Ethnically diverse auxiliaries                                                  | 129            |
| 15. Scene XXIV: Cavalry charge at Dacians on horseback                                           | 160            |
| 16. Scenes LXX–LXXI: Romans and Dacians divided by diagonal shields                              | 160            |
| 17. Scene XXX: Trajan ushers a group of Dacian women toward a boat                               | 178            |
| 18. Scene XXXIX: Women descend from a mountain with their families                               | 180            |



- |                                                                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 19. Scene LXXVI: Women come out of uncivilized terrain and move toward mass surrender   | 181 |
| 20. Scene XCI: Civilized Dacian women stand intermingled with men in togas and children | 183 |
| 21. Scene XLIV: Dacian women torture prisoners                                          | 185 |

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The beginning of this project traces back to three conference presentations – two at the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature/American Academy of Religion in Chicago and San Francisco and a third at the international meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in London. Photographs were taken during a grant-funded study trip to Rome. The project was then further expanded into a dissertation submitted to McGill University. The project has since been thoroughly revised into the current monograph form for publication with Cambridge University Press. So, there are many fine people and institutions I want to thank that helped support and encourage me along this rather long and circuitous journey.

First and foremost, I want to thank the production staff at Cambridge University Press, especially Beatrice Rehl, Mary Bongiovi, and Edgar Mendez, who have been nothing but pleasant, patient, and professional throughout the process of preparing the manuscript for publication. I want to thank the following mentors who have proven to be indispensable sources of inspiration in my life, namely Professor Patricia Kirkpatrick, Professor Tom Thatcher, Professor Jenn Cianca, Reverend Jared Hamilton, Reverend Timothy Lloyd, and Reverend Chad Van Meter. I am not sure how it ended up that all of my advisors are either academics or clergy (some both!), but I consider myself fortunate to have such an ecumenical group of lifelong conversation partners. Beyond this I am extremely fortunate to have such world-class peers, most of whom I met as a graduate student. Furthermore, I want to thank those honorable institutions, as well as their students, that supported me over the course of my studies, namely McGill University, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Kalamazoo College, Pepperdine University, St. Michael's College, Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University, Jewish Theological Seminary, Cincinnati Christian University, and the Diane and Guilford Glazer Institute for Jewish Studies. It is both gratifying and

humbling to think about all of the support and encouragement I received over the years.

Most of all I want to express my profound gratitude for the partnership and patience of my spouse, Jennifer, who served as my travel companion on this odyssey, which spanned the time we lived in New York (NY), Montreal (QC), Gloucester (MA), Portland (OR), Los Angeles (CA), Geneva (NY), and Kalamazoo (MI). While we were able to travel and make incredible friends throughout this period, there is no question that Jennifer was constantly watering our life with loving sacrifice. If it was not for her love and support, I would have lost sight of the vision and the road would have been abandoned a long time ago. Therefore, this book is dedicated to you, Jennifer. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to our beloved child, Marilyn Jean Billings, whose pleasant company and common love for picture books provided the inspiration to keep pushing forward to publication. I am profoundly grateful for you two. For it was your acceptance and pardon for all of the ways this project proved to be taxing that allowed this dream to become a reality. Last, but not least, I would not be here on earth, nor in academia, if it were not for the lifelong love and support of my family, especially Gary and Cyndi Billings.

Thank you all for your investment, confidence, encouragement, and now grace in my humble attempt to honor you in the research, writing, and publication of this project.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                |                                                                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ABD            | Anchor Bible Dictionary                                                               |
| <i>AJA</i>     | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>                                                |
| ANRW           | Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt                                            |
| <i>Bib</i>     | <i>Biblica</i>                                                                        |
| <i>BJRL</i>    | <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>                                           |
| <i>BTB</i>     | <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>                                                     |
| <i>CBQ</i>     | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>                                                    |
| <i>CBR</i>     | <i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>                                                  |
| <i>CR</i>      | <i>The Classical Review</i>                                                           |
| <i>HTR</i>     | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>                                                     |
| <i>JAAR</i>    | <i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>                                    |
| <i>JBL</i>     | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>                                                 |
| <i>JR</i>      | <i>The Journal of Religion</i>                                                        |
| <i>JRS</i>     | <i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>                                                   |
| <i>JRT</i>     | <i>Journal of Religious Thought</i>                                                   |
| <i>JSJ</i>     | <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i> |
| <i>JSNT</i>    | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>                                     |
| <i>JSNTSup</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>                   |
| <i>JTS</i>     | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>                                                 |
| <i>NRSV</i>    | New Revised Standard Bible                                                            |
| <i>NTS</i>     | <i>New Testament Studies</i>                                                          |
| <i>PEQ</i>     | <i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>                                                |
| <i>SBL</i>     | Society of Biblical Literature                                                        |
| <i>WUNT</i>    | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament                                  |
| <i>WW</i>      | <i>Word &amp; World</i>                                                               |
| <i>ZNW</i>     | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>                             |



## INTRODUCTION: ACTS AND EMPIRE

For the study of Christian discourse in the Roman world is the study of reception, and this is a two-way process – not merely how Christian discourse made its impact on society at large, but how it was itself transformed and shaped in the endeavor. Christian discourse would have been different without the environment of the Roman world; and that environment itself was subject to geographical and diachronic variance. What we study is a dynamic process in which both sides are changing.<sup>1</sup>

THIS BOOK REPRESENTS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY AND MULTIMEDIA approach to a text of critical importance – Acts of the Apostles, which serves as the organizing centerpiece of the entire New Testament (NT) canon in providing a bridge between the four Gospels and the letters of Paul. Acts is the second part of a two-part work that serves as a sequel to the story of Jesus found in the Gospel of Luke in providing a dramatic account of the origins, developments, and dispersion of the early Church. Together the two texts constitute 28 percent of the words in the New Testament. Acts, however, is a distinct literary production with its own transmission history, narrative mode, and subject matter as it sequences a series of dramatic episodes together in representing the heroic accomplishments of its chief protagonists as participants in the conquest of the “word” that extends from Jerusalem all the way to Rome. On many issues Acts is the only source extant for the history of the early church, without which we would not have a narrative connecting the life of Jesus to the dispersion of the early church across geographically distant spaces in the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of a Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 4.

<sup>2</sup> This work treats Gospel of Luke and Acts of the Apostles as distinct literary entities. See Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993) for a discussion of the unity of Luke-Acts. See Marianne Palmer Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000), 10, for one critique of their positions.

Historical approaches to the New Testament necessitate that attention be given to the Roman Empire as a formative context within which early Christian knowledge production took place. While early Christian discourse reflects the impact of this context to varying degrees and in manifold ways, the book of Acts provides one of the most widely acknowledged instances of exchange. This work demonstrates several ways the story of Christian origins presented in Acts interfaces with Roman imperial ideals and cultural forms to a degree that has heretofore gone unnoticed. The nuance of my argument, however, depends on an understanding of cultural exchange that is not uniform for all of Rome's subjects and does not obliterate local contributions to identity. It seeks to explain how the vision in Acts served to "join the debate" about what it meant to be Roman at a particular time in the evolution of empire.<sup>3</sup> Such an approach promises to reorient our understanding of the function and meaning of Acts as an exceptional artifact of provincial representation in the Roman world.

The term "Roman Empire" comes from the Latin *imperium Romanum* and refers to the vast territory around the Mediterranean Sea that was controlled by sovereign leaders who, along with their power brokers, sought to maintain, and often expand, their power over a great diversity of peoples and lands.<sup>4</sup> The Roman Empire was neither static nor uniform, but evolved over time, and manifested itself differently in the lives of its subjects. As such, there were different kinds of empires and imperialisms throughout Rome's history and this evolution was outside of the control of any single emperor or group of people.

Acts will be analyzed for the role it served this environment in mediating between social ambition and political ideals, and how the pursuits of honor, legitimation, and status served as governing principles in determining the manner in which provincial subjects represented themselves, their histories, and their communities in the Roman Empire. Emphasis will be placed on how Acts reflects broader representational patterns that expressed provincial identity by hybridizing local and imperial forms.<sup>5</sup> As such, I hope to show

<sup>3</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20.

<sup>4</sup> David J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 6, 10.

<sup>5</sup> On the dynamics of cultural identity under Rome, see Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press, 1996); Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press, 1969).

that, along with Jewish literature from the period, early Christian texts can and should be regarded as an integral part of the material and discursive culture of provincial life surviving from antiquity that has, in the words of art historians, the “power to tell us a great deal about the ways in which different peoples, at different social levels, interacted with ‘Roman’ culture across the Empire, thereby creating new identities.”<sup>6</sup>

### Review of Scholarship on Acts and Empire

Since the 1990s the study of Jewish and Christian literature in the Greco-Roman period has witnessed an increasing interest in the foregrounding of the Roman Empire as a determinative context in which Jews and Christians lived, wrote, and had their being, rather than as a coincidental and inconsequential “background.” As a result, several important studies have demonstrated the varying degrees and manifold ways in which particular texts negotiate this “environment.”<sup>7</sup> Such a growth of interest, of course, does not take place in a vacuum; instead, it corresponds with new research in ancient history and archaeology, as well as broader trends across the humanities, where empire critical and postcolonial studies have proven to be widely fruitful analytical methods.<sup>8</sup> This project grows out of a similar interest in how early Jewish and Christian discourses relate to their imperial context and seeks to investigate the nature of this exchange with regard to its relationship to broader patterns of cultural production, representation, and identity construction at a particular stage in the evolution of the Roman Empire.

<sup>6</sup> Sarah Scott and Jane Webster, “Preface,” in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* (eds. Sarah Scott and Jane Webster; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xiv.

<sup>7</sup> For a representative sample, see Cynthia Long Westfall and Stanley E. Porter, eds., *Empire in the New Testament* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011); Scott McKnight and Joseph B. Modica, eds., *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013); Warren Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2006); Michael Peppard, *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship in Its Social and Political Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, eds., *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (Text and Editions for New Testament Study 9; Leiden: Brill, 2012); Judith Perkins, *Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era* (Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies; New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 2–3; R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14; Musa W. Dube Shomanah, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2000); Rubén Muñoz-Larrondo, *A Postcolonial Reading of the Acts of the Apostles* (vol. 147; Studies in Biblical Literature; New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 6–7; Jeffrey L. Staley, “Changing Woman: Postcolonial Reflections On Acts 16.6–40,” *JSNT* 21, no. 73 (1999): 113–35.



The narrative of Acts provides an important reminder that the modern preoccupation with organizing politics and religion into discreet and isolated spheres is just that – a *modern* preoccupation. Such a dichotomy between politics and religion would have been foreign to ancient writers, with Christians and Jews serving as no exception.<sup>9</sup> Acts typifies this tendency as it narratively maps the early Christian movement onto the spaces of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>10</sup> Paul's mission is set on the stage of a number of Rome's most important metropolises, such as Pisidian Antioch and Philippi, famous Roman military colonies, Ephesus, the administrative center of the Roman province of Asia, and, of course, the capital city of Rome.<sup>11</sup> Less noted, though just as pervasive, is the reciprocal interest of weaving key aspects of the Roman Empire into the story of the early church. For instance, Paul is identified exclusively in Acts as a Roman citizen.<sup>12</sup> Paul is seen as friends with and protected by people of high standing, especially those associated with the administration of the Roman Empire.<sup>13</sup> A list of Paul's friends and associates include not only Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul of Cyprus

<sup>9</sup> Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Social-Science Commentary; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 1–2.

<sup>10</sup> David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf, eds., *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 2; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 223–482. Due to several factors, least of all the failure of the *parousia* to materialize as soon as expected, the *ekklesia* was put in a position to establish itself in relation to the civic world of the Greek East, the empire, and Judaism. Acts sits in sharp contrast to other early Christian literature, especially the book of Revelation, in how it envisages and positions itself vis-à-vis Rome. This “original achievement” requires further investigation in the conditions shaping *how* it relates the *ekklesia* to its environment and *why* it does so in the way it does. See Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 137.

<sup>11</sup> Paul R. Trebilco, “Asia,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, 291–362. The Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts are the only two New Testament writings that refer to Roman emperors by name. In Luke 2:1, the Emperor Augustus decrees a worldwide census to which the holy family responds by travelling from Nazareth in Galilee to Bethlehem in Judea. According to Luke 3:1–3, it was during the fifteenth year of the reign of Emperor Tiberius that John the Baptist “went into all the region around the Jordan, proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.” In Acts, the Roman emperor Claudius is mentioned on two separate occasions; first, in reference to the time of the worldwide famine (11:28); second, in reference to the ordering of “all Jews to leave Rome” (18:2). In addition to these references, the Roman emperor is referred to as “Caesar” without any further specificity on over a dozen additional occurrences (Luke 2:1; 3:1; 20:22; 20:25; 23:2; Acts 17:7; 25:8; 25:11; 25:12; 25:21; 26:32; 27:24; 28:19). Thus, both Luke and Acts demonstrate an interest in situating their narratives within an imperial context.

<sup>12</sup> Acts 22:25–29; 23:27. Peter van Minnen, “Paul the Roman Citizen,” *JSNT* 17, no. 56 (1995): 43–52.

<sup>13</sup> On the representation of governors in Acts, see Joshua P. Yoder, “Representatives of Roman Rule: Roman Governors in Luke-Acts” (PhD diss., Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University, 2012), 322–425.

(13:7–12), but also the Roman magistrates in Philippi (16:29–35, 39), the authorities of Thessalonica (17:8–9), Gallio, the Roman proconsul of Achaia (18:12–17), the Asiarchs, and town clerk in Ephesus (19:31–41).<sup>14</sup> In Jerusalem, the list includes Claudius Lysias, the Roman tribune (21:32–36, 40; 22:24–30; 23:10, 18–31), Roman governor Felix in Caesarea (24:22–23), Roman governor Festus in Caesarea (25:1–6, 12), King Herod Agrippa II (26:31–32), Julius, the Roman centurion (27:3, 43), and Publius at Malta (28:7–10). Acts makes explicit the links between the political and religious realms in weaving together the story of Christian origins with key places and personages that helped constitute Rome's empire.<sup>15</sup> While almost all publications dealing with the political perspectives of Acts recognize, to varying degrees, this literary tendency, analyses are often restricted to these observations alone.<sup>16</sup> Are there other ways, whether explicit or implicit, that Acts relates to the empire?

A number of important studies have focused on the political interests of Acts, generating a range of proposals that have since raised the question of Acts' political dimensions as a consequential, albeit contested, line of critical inquiry.<sup>17</sup> While the majority of these studies are motivated by enthusiasm for and hope of making broader claims about early Christian attitudes and interactions with Rome, the discussion has been confined between two opposing poles. Scholars have tended to read Acts as constructing either (1) a friendly "pro-Roman" or (2) an antagonistic "anti-Roman" relationship between Christians and the empire. On the "pro-Roman" side of this debate, scholars have approached Acts as a document that presents a politically harmonious relationship between Christians and the empire.<sup>18</sup> The way Acts seeks to forge this amiable relationship, however, has been hotly

<sup>14</sup> R. A. Kearsley, "The Asiarchs," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, 363–76.

<sup>15</sup> Ho Sung Kim, "Collusion and Subversion: Luke's Representation of the Roman Empire" (PhD diss., Madison, NJ: Drew University, 2009). The book of Acts was written for Christian readers, who at the time of composition were not using the term "Christian" as a self-designation. Therefore, the readers of Acts were those for whom its commemorative interests shaped the lives and visions of their community.

<sup>16</sup> I agree with Yamazaki-Ransom's assessment that the references in Luke and Acts to the imperial context are not solely for added historical information, but carry ideological and theological implications. See Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom, *The Roman Empire in Luke's Narrative* (Library of New Testament Studies 404; New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 69. In spite of this agreement, this study contends with what Yamazaki-Ransom argues these implications are, namely, that Luke was presenting an alternative to imperial ideology.

<sup>17</sup> See Todd Penner, "Madness in the Method? The Acts of the Apostles in Current Study," *CBR* 2, no. 2 (2004), 257, which situates this debate within the larger context of contested issues in Acts scholarship.

<sup>18</sup> From this perspective, Luke is seen as a precursor of Eusebius and Prudentius in his attempt to forge a harmonious relationship between the church and the state. For those who argue

debated.<sup>19</sup> Paul Walaskay, as a classic example, argues that Acts was written to encourage Christians to view the empire positively and to strive to be good citizens.<sup>20</sup> Another noble and representative example of this perspective is Philip Esler, who reads Acts as providing “political legitimation” for the Christian movement. According to Esler, Rome’s neglect to sanction the “new religion” led some Roman Christians to question the legitimacy of the faith to which they had subscribed.<sup>21</sup> Luke responded to the situation by presenting Christians as good Romans because he wants to show Roman converts that their faith in Jesus is compatible with allegiance to Rome. Advocates of such “pro-Roman” perspectives have often noted Acts’ purportedly positive depiction of Roman officials, as well as the tendency for Acts to exonerate Paul from all criminal offences during the trial scenes.<sup>22</sup>

Acts is “for” empire see Henry J. Cadbury and Paul N. Anderson, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: SPCK, 1968); Conzelman, *The Theology of St. Luke*; Paul W. Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome: The Political Perspective of St. Luke* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 49; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); David L. Barr and Judith Wentling, “Classical Biography and Luke-Acts.” Pages 63–88 in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad, 1984); Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), pp. 379–86; F. F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988). This perspective has been around since the eighteenth century, see W. Ward Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1975).

<sup>19</sup> One common form of this position has been advanced in terms of the so-called *religio licita* theory, which claims that all foreign religions required special licensing by Rome in order to be permitted to carry on; and since Judaism had been so licensed, Luke attempted to show that Christianity was a form of Judaism in order to garner the same special privileges as Jews. Several objections, however, have been levied against this view. For a full discussion, see Philip Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Society for New Testament Studies 57; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 206.

<sup>20</sup> Walaskay sees the politically sensitive material directed inward to the Christian community as an attempt to counter anti-Roman sentiment among Christians in order to enable the church to survive in the current political order. See Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 1–14.

<sup>21</sup> The fact that Rome has not sanctioned the new religion may have led some Roman Christians to question the legitimacy of the faith to which they have subscribed, which, for Esler, created the *Sitz im Leben* from which Luke composed Acts and sought to legitimize Christians as a valid group in the empire. Esler claims that there must have been Romans in the Christian community. Luke diverges from his sources and the historical situation to emphasize the prominence of Romans among the early converts to the faith, such as the centurion of Capernaum (Luke 7:1–10), the centurion at the foot of the cross (23:47), the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:1ff), Sergius Paulus (13:6–12), and others. In addition to this, Paul’s own claim to Roman citizenship is evidence of the existence of Roman citizens among the author’s audience. See Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 217.

<sup>22</sup> Jerome H. Neyrey, “Luke’s Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts.” Pages 251–82 in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed. Ben

While there have been a few attempts to forge a more nuanced position, a number of studies stand on the opposite side of the debate and attempt to read Acts as “anti-Roman.”<sup>23</sup> This has been the primary approach in more recent scholarship, especially since the rise of empire-critical approaches in New Testament studies, which has to date generated more anti-imperial readings of NT texts. Gary Gilbert’s work serves as a prime example of such anti-imperial approaches to Acts.<sup>24</sup> Gilbert analyzes the list of nations in Acts 2:9–11 with reference to Roman imperial propaganda, which represented Rome’s universal control through the public display of lists of named conquered nations.<sup>25</sup> Gilbert reads the discourse in Acts as politically subversive in its competitive posturing toward Roman claims to rule the world. Although a number of similarly interesting proposals have emerged from “anti-Roman” approaches, such readings further polarize the discussion of the text’s political dimensions, indelibly restricting the horizons for exploring Acts’ political interests. Once scholars decide where Acts sits within the “pro-Roman/anti-Roman” poles, the decision then controls their overall reading of the text.

C. Kavin Rowe, in his recent book entitled *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age*, has attempted to establish a new perspective from which questions of Acts’ critical posturing toward the empire is understood.<sup>26</sup> His primary focus is to read Acts’ theological vision and accompanying praxis for how they help to forge new subjectivities that refuse to conform to the values of the wider society espoused in the Roman Empire. From Rowe’s perspective, Luke’s contribution to early Christian discourse is a rather sophisticated theo-political vision of how life could be lived as a subject of empire. Rowe’s principal argument is that Acts provides a cultural

Witherington; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 265; Yamazaki-Ransom, *The Roman Empire in Luke’s Narrative*, 107–62; Loveday Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (Library of New Testament Studies; New York: T & T Clark International, 2005), 197–98.

<sup>23</sup> Representative studies of the “anti-Roman” perspective, see Richard J. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987); David Rhoads, David Esterline, and Jae Won Lee, eds., *Luke-Acts and Empire: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Brawley* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 151; Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011); Loveday Alexander, “Luke’s Political Vision,” *Int* 66, no. 3 (2012): 283–93.

<sup>24</sup> Gary Gilbert, “Roman Propaganda and Christian Identity,” Pages 233–56 in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (eds. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele; Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series no. 20; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> Augustus’ *Res Gestae* serves as a prime example.

<sup>26</sup> C. Kavin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

vision that sits in profound tension with its cultural milieu. One of the many strengths of Rowe's study is his insistence that the narrative power of Acts is the medium by which Luke's religious challenges to society simultaneously contests political and economic practices. From this perspective, Acts is read as "lively political theology."<sup>27</sup> Rowe's argument, however, seems to reify the same attributes Acts seeks to stereotype about its non-Christian neighbors.<sup>28</sup> Thus, instead of reading Acts' description of the Lycaonian failure to properly distinguish humans and divinities (14:11–13) as polemical stereotyping, Rowe sees it as indicative of actual conflict between competing religious ideologies.<sup>29</sup> Rowe falls into a pattern of merely regurgitating Luke's disparaging tendencies, claiming they were a part of broader religious sensibilities constitutive of the very culture Acts is trying to "radically oppose."<sup>30</sup> In the end, Rowe's reading of Acts is only revolutionary when read in light of the narrative world it creates for itself, and certainly not the world of provincial self-representation in the Roman Empire. Therefore, the rather problematic "pro-Roman/anti-Roman" binary that has defined the debate around Acts' political dimensions continues alive and well in recent scholarship.

The problems with scholarly approaches that reduce Acts' political dimensions to the question of whether the author has a positive or negative assessment of the Roman Empire are manifold. First, the narrative is too complex in its references to imperial subjects that simple solutions cannot accommodate the diversity of perspectives found within the text itself. Acts contains passages that can support both readings and is often ambivalent in its depiction of things Roman, which should be expected considering the length of the text and the experience of colonial subjects.<sup>31</sup> What ends

<sup>27</sup> Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 6–7.

<sup>28</sup> Lynn Allan Kauppi, *Foreign but Familiar Gods: Greco-Romans Read Religion in Acts* (LNTS 277; London: T&T Clark, 2006). For a discussion of the relationship between Artemis worship and Luke's depiction of Artemis worship in Acts 19, see C. L. Brinks, "'Great Is Artemis of the Ephesians': Acts 19:23–41 in Light of Goddess Worship in Ephesus," *CBQ* 71, no. 4 (2009): 776–94; Lynn R. LiDonnici, "The Images of Artemis Ephesia and Greco-Roman Worship: A Reconsideration," *HTR* 85, no. 4 (1992): 389–415.

<sup>29</sup> Jerome H. Neyrey, "Acts 17, Epicureans, and Theodicy: A Study in Stereotypes." Pages 118–34 in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (eds. David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990).

<sup>30</sup> See Harold W. Attridge, "The Philosophical Critique of Religion under the Early Empire," in *ANRW* II.16.1: 45–78.

<sup>31</sup> See Homi K. Bhabha regarding the ambivalence of colonial subjects, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 121–31. For the use of Bhabha's concepts of ambivalence with regard to Luke-Acts, see Yong-Sung Ahn, *The Reign of God and Rome in Luke's Passion Narrative: An East Asian Global Perspective* (Biblical Interpretation Series v. 80; Boston: Brill, 2006).

up happening, as a result, is that certain passages are foregrounded to the neglect of those that do not fit neatly into the chosen interpretive scheme. As Tim Whitmarsh argues concerning Greek texts written during the Roman period, "Literature can be sophisticated, ludic, self-ironizing, and/or irresponsible: it can provoke and tease its readership with ambivalence, contradictions, and gaps."<sup>32</sup> Texts are not necessarily univocal even if they are more often than not treated as such in modern scholarship. Second, the question of the author's attitude toward Rome is not a question the text raises itself, so it will always be subject to reception and the interests of the interpreter.<sup>33</sup> There is simply a lack of direct discourse that expresses the author's own perspectives on the matter.<sup>34</sup> Third, there is a myriad of possibilities of cultural interaction in addition to the "for/against" binary, such as assimilation, cooperation, negotiation, cooption, and subversion.<sup>35</sup> In light of the variegated set of possible responses, one must employ models that allow for, at least the possibility of, multiple modes of cultural interaction.<sup>36</sup> Fourth, scholarship that has focused on the political dimensions of Acts tends to treat the poetics perfunctorily, less than an object of study and more as a window through which the object is perceived. The problem is that texts are not windows and an author's view toward any given subject may be concealed by the use of other sources, literary conventions, and more. Further attention must be given to the poetics of the text itself and how it relates to broader cultural discourses.<sup>37</sup> Fifth, previous approaches almost always treat

<sup>32</sup> Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, referencing Duncan F. Kennedy, "'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan': Reflections on Terms of Reference." Pages 26–58 in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (ed. Anton Powell; Bristol: Bristol Press, 1998), 41.

<sup>34</sup> Douglas R. Edwards, *Religion & Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 10, quoting E. L. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Knopf, 1962), 16.

<sup>35</sup> Vernon K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society, and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 240.

<sup>36</sup> Peter Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 7.

<sup>37</sup> There are a number of studies that investigate various ways the discourse of Acts interfaces with Greco-Roman discourse. For a representative sample, see Penner and Stichele, eds., *Contextualizing Acts*; William S. Kurz, "Hellenistic Rhetoric in the Christological Proof of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 42, no. 2 (1980): 171–95; Dennis R. MacDonald, "Classical Greek Poetry and the Acts of the Apostles: Imitations of Euripides' *Bacchae*," Pages 463–96 in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts; Text and Editions for New Testament Study 9; Leiden: Brill, 2012); John J. Kilgallen, "Acts 20:35 and Thucydides 2.97.4," *JBL* 112, no. 2 (1993): 312–14; Douglas R. Edwards, "Acts of the Apostles and the Graeco-Roman World: Narrative Communication in Social Contexts," in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1989* (Society

the Roman Empire as a fixed entity without any variation, whether it be regional, temporal, class, or representational variations. Since the Roman Empire was especially subject to diachronic development, the various ways in which texts positioned themselves vis-à-vis Rome could change due to the regular succession of emperors and their concomitant ideologies, modes of representation, and propagandistic interests. While these developments may have had as much or more to do with rhetoric than reality, they still served to construct Rome for imperial subjects in new ways. The imperial cult, for instance, recognized as playing an active role in constructing Rome for provincial subjects, took on different shapes with each emperor.<sup>38</sup> It is critical that any attempt at relating Acts and the Roman Empire acknowledges that for its subjects the empire was a web of complexes, constructed in words, laws, images, taxes, wars, etc. As such, subjects' experience of the empire was highly variegated and discrepant, and assessing a text's political dimensions is inherently restricted by the use of interpretive models that reduce the subject into simple binaries. In what follows, I wish to show how this study seeks to forge a different paradigm in the study of Acts and empire, and how the investigation of political themes in Acts might be both broadened and deepened in its scope.

All of the difficulties mentioned above concerning the shortcomings of both sides of the debate grow out of a keen sense that there are a number of challenges facing scholars when relating Acts to the Roman Empire. Beyond merely pointing out the shortcomings of previous studies, it is also important to acknowledge the blind spots and questions previous approaches have neglected in discussing Acts' political interests from such polarizing angles. For instance, previous studies have neglected to explore how the narrative

of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers SBLSP 28; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), 362–77; Edwards, *Religion and Power*; Vernon K. Robbins, "The Claims of the Prologues and Greco-Roman Rhetoric: The Prefaces to Luke and Acts in Light of Greco-Roman Rhetorical Strategies." Pages 63–83 in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (ed. David P. Moessner; Luke the Interpreter of Israel; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1999); David Mealand, "'After Not Many Days' in Acts 1.5 and Its Hellenistic Context," *JSNT* 13, no. 42 (1991): 69–77.

<sup>38</sup> C. Kavin Rowe, "Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult: A Way through the Conundrum?" *JSNT* 27, no. 3 (2005): 281. As Rowe observes, "the cult would have differed under particular emperors. It was not the same under Augustus or Tiberius as it was under Caligula – who, for example, moved in his short principate from forbidding sacrifice to his *genius* to receiving 'direct worship in Rome' – nor under Nero as it was under Vespasian and others. Chronological reality here is phenomenological difference." For a critical response to Rowe's article, see Justin R. Howell, "The Imperial Authority and Benefaction of Centurions and Acts 10.34–43: A Response to C. Kavin Rowe," *JSNT* 31, no. 1 (2008): 25–51; See also Allen Brent, "Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult in Asia Minor," *JTS* 48, no. 2 (1997): 411–38.



representations of the apostles relate to broader representational trends and standards of provincial leaders, which this study seeks to correct. In fact, the topic of how Acts relates to its multimedia context, especially its visual milieu, has almost completely been neglected. Due to these blind spots, there has been a long-standing need to revisit the question of Acts' political dimensions from an entirely different perspective.

### Dating Acts

The Roman Empire was represented and perceived differently across time and space. Since there is no scholarly consensus on either the date or province in which Acts was composed, interpreters are faced with the problem of how to situate the text within a temporally and spatially specific context. This project is admittedly a work of historical imagination in so far as it sees itself as doing the work of a historical critic in seeking to discern larger contextual patterns and situating the text within a particular historical and cultural grid. The orientation of this project is to approach Acts as a discursive performance from a particular historical period. This period, I argue, spans the emperor Trajan's twenty-year reign from 98 to 117 CE, which was experienced by many as the most extended period of stability of the government in the Roman Empire and ignited one of the most prolific literary movements of antiquity, which included many of the works of Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, and other authors often associated with the "Second Sophistic." It was also at this time that Christians first emerge in imperial literature and appear to have been uniformly cast as deviants by Roman writers. This attention, I argue, provoked the need to impose one's own shape on the story and to aspire to represent themselves to themselves, as well as others, as a legitimate group that both embodies and contributes to the highest values celebrated in imperial representations of a new and potentially promising era.<sup>39</sup> The result is an aesthetic, iconographic, and thematic intersection, which is discernible through comparative analysis of the discourse that Acts constructs and the representational strategies

<sup>39</sup> This notion of imposing "one's own shape" stems from Stephen Greenblatt's concept of the "autonomy" of self-fashioning. For a discussion of the value of the concept to Roman art history, see Peter Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration*, 2. As social theorists have now long recognized, conceptions of the past are a constitutive force in constructing and maintaining group identity. In the famous words of memory theorists Fentress and Wickham, "social memory identifies a group, giving it a sense of its past and defining its aspirations for the future." James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (New Perspectives on the Past; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 25.



evidenced in the visual and literary remains from the period. Such a discourse will be shown to have served a particular purpose within this context of early Christian identity fashioning and social positioning.<sup>40</sup>

Although most studies on Acts date the composition of the narrative between 80 and 90 CE, this consensus is the result of nothing other than a scholarly compromise between those who believe the author was an actual eyewitness to the events he reports and those who do not. This has become so solidified in scholarship that there is rarely any substantial justification given for such a dating. An increasing number of recent studies, however, have argued that the evidence overwhelmingly points to a second century dating, which does not necessarily supersede the life span of an individual, if one were committed to asserting the author was an eyewitness to the events narrated in Acts. Richard Pervo has recently published the most sustained argument for a second century dating in *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and Apologists*.<sup>41</sup> While Pervo's argument is cumulative and rests on a number of different cases, the center of his argument relies on a series of source critical studies that conclude that Luke drew directly from Josephus (93/94 CE), as well as a variety of Paul's epistles, which presumes enough time had elapsed for the formation of a Pauline corpus to have taken place.<sup>42</sup> According to Pervo, Luke knows of eight different Pauline texts, including Ephesians and Colossians, which, by many scholarly reconstructions, would not have been available as a corpus until the second century.<sup>43</sup> In addition, Pervo traces theological and terminological connections with other early Christian literature that date to the early second century, such as the Pastoral

<sup>40</sup> One of the major differences between Christian groups and other cults at this time is that they did not construct and express their identities through construction projects. Interestingly, Acts ties memories of the apostles to concrete locations that imaginatively locate Christians in geographical territory.

<sup>41</sup> Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2006).

<sup>42</sup> Pervo's argument that Acts depends on Josephus as a source is concentrated around two passages, references to rebels Theudas and Judas in Acts 5:36–37 and the Egyptian in 21:37–38, Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 149–200. On the problem of Luke's knowledge of a Pauline letter collection, see John Knox, "Acts and the Pauline Letter Corpus." Pages 279–87 in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (eds. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn; London: SPCK, 1968).

<sup>43</sup> For example, Acts 9:21 and 22:3; cf. Gal 1: 13–14; Acts 9:23–25; cf. 2 Cor. 11:32–33. Parallels with Galatians seem to predominate. According to Pervo, Luke knows of eight Pauline texts. Tannehill questions whether the supposed date of a Pauline collection cannot determine the date of Acts. Goulder argues that Luke used 1 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians in M. D. Goulder, "Did Luke Know Any of the Pauline Letters," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 13, no. 2 (1986): 97–112. For a critical review of Pervo's argument, see Robert C. Tannehill, "Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists," *CBQ* 69, no. 4 (2007): 827–28.

Epistles and Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*. Other scholars have also dated Acts to the second century, but often for reasons that differ from Pervo.<sup>44</sup> For instance, Joseph Tyson argues for a second century dating based on his argument that Acts was written as a response to Marcionite Christianity.<sup>45</sup> In a recently published anthology, edited by Rubén R. Dupertuis and Todd C. Penner, titled *Engaging Early Christian History*, a total of twelve scholars contributed articles with various justifications for reading Acts alongside second century texts and cultural productions.<sup>46</sup> My own project represents a middle position in the dating debate, since it seeks to situate the text between 98 and 117 CE, which is slightly later than conventional dating proposals that span the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE), yet earlier than other proposals that claim a Hadrianic dating (117–138 CE).<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned arguments regarding the compositional date of Acts, it is my contention that Acts reflects representational trends and interests that emerged as the Flavian dynasty came to an end and inspired subjects with new hope of a more promising future for church–state relations. Trajan, as a provincial who was adopted by Nerva, was both reflective of Roman society's transformation into a “world-state” and provided the very engine for its expansion.<sup>48</sup> Trajan and his family were from Spain, making him the first emperor from outside of Italy. While this would later become more commonplace, at the time it was groundbreaking and carried significant implications for the nature of provincial representations and the hope of their communities in the Roman social structures. This situation provoked a great opportunity for early Christian representational interests, as Acts casts its chief protagonist, Paul, as a Roman citizen from the provinces who is engaged in the kind of virtuous actions that are appearing in imperial representations at this time.

<sup>44</sup> Dennis E. Smith and Joseph B. Tyson, eds., *Acts and Christian Beginnings: The Acts Seminar Report* (Salem, OR: Polebridge Press, 2013).

<sup>45</sup> Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006). Shelly Matthews continues this line of interpretation in *Perfect Martyr: The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>46</sup> Rubén R. Dupertuis and Todd C. Penner, *Engaging Early Christian History: Reading Acts in the Second Century* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> The reign of Nerva (96–98) will be discussed in [Chapter 4](#) with regard to the evolving imperial policy concerning Jews in the empire, but his reign was too brief to make any substantial dating claims for Acts. This date also coheres with those who argue that Acts was written by and for fourth-generation Christians, see Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts*, 11; see also 204–6.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King,” *JRS* 72 (1982): 48.

The project brings together a variety of disciplines in exploring how early Christian cultural productions related to contemporary trends and standards of representation during a defined period that spans the reign of the Roman emperor Trajan (98–117 CE) and includes both visual and verbal media. Throughout the work I sustain a novel thesis that Acts was written in concert with broader representational trends and standards found in provincial representations and imperial monuments dating to the first two decades of the second century, and in a way reflecting a dynamic exchange that produced an innovative narrative that hybridizes local and imperial forms.

As Arnold Ehrhardt recognized already in 1969, “The book of Acts cannot be properly understood if it is not seen within the political setting of its time.” This study simply fills a scholarly gulf by interpreting Acts within a particular political setting of a proposed time.<sup>49</sup> Although Acts conceals its own moment of composition, it is nevertheless a document that is deeply embedded in a historical moment.<sup>50</sup> While some scholars of Acts may prefer approaching individual passages solely as narrative without reference to any contextual material external to the text, it is completely warranted to open the text to the outside world, considering how integrally the text relates to its “real life context.” Such an approach promises to generate a much more vivid awareness of the relationship of the narrative construction to its imperial setting.<sup>51</sup> In the end, I anticipate that situating Acts within a definite field of vision will contribute to scholarship in understanding some of the more salient ways the Roman Empire helped stimulate the production of early Christian discourse and knowledge of self.

### Overview of Chapters

**Chapter 1**, focusing on Acts and its relationship with the evolving rhetoric of monumental historiography, will detail how Acts’ discursive mode served as a vital part of its political interests and so-called apologetic aims. Acts venerates the apostles within a narrative mode that is characterized by its dramatic continuous narrative format, heavy use of realism, and encomiastic style. These stylistic features correlate with parallel developments in Roman commemorative art, epitomized on the Column of Trajan, and illustrate how the method of representation Acts employs reflects a striking engagement with

<sup>49</sup> Arnold Ehrhardt, *The Acts of the Apostles: Ten Lectures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), 75.

<sup>50</sup> Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts* (Guides to New Testament Exegesis 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995), 17.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

imperial rhetoric at the time. In the end, my justification for reading Acts in concert with the Column of Trajan depends on the observation that they stand as roughly contemporaneous “texts” that both commemorate their male protagonists with common discursive strategies and that the image constructed in Acts stands as an apostolic monument that sought to participate in the discursive world of imperial rhetoric.

**Chapter 2**, focusing on the impact imperial ideals had on provincial self-fashioning, will analyze Roman imperial trends of representation circulating during the reign of Trajan. In the first two decades of the second century, representations and perceptions of the emperor experienced a dramatic shift as the emperor began to play more of a paradigmatic role for society as a whole. The impact of this shift will be traced in recent studies of Italian and provincial epigraphic records and the honorific terminology used to celebrate local aristocrats, which drew on the language of imperial virtues. Through this intentional overlap, provincial notables modeled their own authority on that of Trajan and represented themselves as local versions of the Roman emperor, sharing his particular virtues. It will be shown how the public image of Trajan functioned as a moral exemplar and served as an essential model for the euergetism of local aristocrats in Asia Minor in the early second century.

**Chapter 3**, focusing on the depiction of Paul in the provinces, will investigate how Acts’ portrayal of Paul relates to Roman imperial standards of representation circulating during the reign of Trajan. It will focus on three episodes that span the beginning (Lystra), middle (Ephesus), and end (Malta) of Paul’s mission in Acts and analyze how they serve to characterize the nature of Paul’s work in the provinces as a community patron who brokers the benefactions of God. In the end, I hope to show that such a strategy was employed in order to represent Paul as fulfilling the duties of a good citizen toward his state and society.

**Chapter 4**, focusing on Acts within the context of anti-Jewish propaganda, will investigate the other side of Acts’ apologetic aims and the various ways in which the author negatively characterizes Jewish responses to Paul and his companions. I wish to explicate this image by proposing that Acts characterizes “the Jews” in accordance with a pervasive anti-Jewish misanthropy theme that was adopted from imperial rhetoric, while accommodated to Acts’ own contemporary setting to reflect post-70 developments, specifically, anti-Jewish propaganda during the reign of the Roman emperor Trajan. Acts represents “the Jews” as a people group whose way of life is characteristically misanthropic, with little distinction between Jerusalem, Judaea, or the Diaspora, but that “the Jews” act in a

single accord, as lovers of their own group while openly hostile to outsiders, which give them mob power to exert pressure on local officials and the crowds.

Chapter 5 will focus on the representation of women and gender in Acts. Since the majority of scholars agree that the manner in which Acts constructs gender has something to do with the Roman Empire, various scholarly proposals will be assessed. Particular attention will be given to more recent studies that have attempted to relate Acts to the study of masculinity in antiquity, and how these relate to the representation of gender on the Column of Trajan. In the end, I hope to show how visual representations can expose certain “blind spots” in scholarly assessments of gender representation, and how gender was employed as an instrument of persuasion in crafting an image of the apostolic period.

# I

## ACTS AND MONUMENTAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

There has always been a symbiosis between the will to power and monumental display.<sup>1</sup>

QUESTIONS OF *HOW* A SUBJECT IS PRESENTED CAN BE AS IMPORTANT as questions of *what* is presented. By what stylistic mode does Acts articulate ideas about the apostles? Was this method integral or inconsequential in fulfilling its purposes? Since stylistic choices in any given era are nearly infinite, though bounded by cultural conventions, *how* a subject is presented is of no slight significance, but rather can serve as a vital part of how a message is conveyed and how it is received. Although Acts poses as a verbal record of the developments of the apostolic church as they actually happened, it is better understood as the end product of countless representational choices. Its narrative does not simply present these events as they occurred; rather, it is active in shaping how its audience experiences and remembers them. Modern readers need always be conscious of the difference and distance between the events themselves and the representations of those events, so as to avoid what is often referred to as the “literary fallacy.”<sup>2</sup> The primary objective of this chapter is to situate Acts’ mode of representation within its contemporary multimedia context, explicating how the text’s stylistic features relate to broader representational trends and standards, in order to show that Acts is a carefully crafted apostolic monument put in the service of early Christian self-fashioning.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jaś Elsner, “Inventing Imperium: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome.” Pages 32–53 in *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (ed. Jaś Elsner; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32. Elsner argues this point is as true for the Roman period as it was for Hitler and Mussolini.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Augustine DeVoto, *The Literary Fallacy* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1969).

<sup>3</sup> For a comparable methodology, see Peter Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 117.

### What Kind of History?

In spite of many valuable contributions over the years, scholarship has yet to fully resolve the perplexing question of genre and what kind of history Acts represents.<sup>4</sup> The following three studies are representative of significant contributions made over the last several decades to the debate and the wide variety of generic categories proposed. Charles Talbert has argued that Acts be categorized as biography, due to what he esteems as a number of significant parallels between Acts and Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (third century).<sup>5</sup> Richard Pervo, in an attempt to reconcile Luke's alleged failure as a historian and success as a writer, has proposed that Acts be categorized as a novel.<sup>6</sup> Dennis MacDonald, in arguing that Acts imitates Homeric epic, has proposed that Acts be categorized as epic.<sup>7</sup> While attempts at classifying Acts as biography, novel, and epic have all been picked up and expanded in various ways by select scholars, none of the proposals have been widely adopted because none of them alone can account for all of the distinct literary characteristics of Acts.<sup>8</sup> Investigations are plagued by a lack of satisfactory ancient analogues to Acts' seemingly unique constellation of literary traits. This chapter will not close the debate; rather, it will broaden the horizon in which we look for such analogies.

In spite of the strengths of each of the genre proposals, the majority of scholars argue that Acts belongs to a subgenre of historiography.<sup>9</sup> While such a classification is no doubt tied to the interests of some scholars to posit a

<sup>4</sup> Loveday Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (Library of New Testament Studies; Early Christianity in Context 298; New York: T & T Clark International, 2005), 133–64.

<sup>5</sup> Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 105; Susan M. Praeder, "Luke-Acts and the Ancient Novel." Pages 269–92 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1981* (SBLSP 20; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?: Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003). For a critical review of MacDonald, see Margaret M. Mitchell, "Homer in the New Testament?," *JR* 83, no. 2 (2003): 244–60.

<sup>8</sup> For the reception and modification of these proposals, see Sean A. Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography* (SNTSMS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Loveday Alexander, "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography." Pages 31–63 in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (eds. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke; The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993); Marianne Palmer Bonz also classifies Acts as epic in comparison with the Latin poetry of the *Aeneid*. See Marianne Palmer Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Thomas E. Phillips, "The Genre of Acts: Moving Toward a Consensus?" *CBR* 4, no. 3 (2006), 374.

certain relationship between historical events of the first-half of the first century CE and the narrative representation of those events in Acts, if even only implicitly, other scholars have resisted this tendency, pointing out that while the genre debate has often developed in parallel with the historicity debate, they are rather separate issues.<sup>10</sup> Classifying Acts within one generic category does not necessarily stake a claim on the historical veracity of the story. As Thomas Phillips perceptively points out, “Ironically... the question of the genre of Acts initially drew attention away from questions of the historicity of Acts and towards the rhetorical effects of the narrative. Now, however, the question of Acts’ genre has come full circle and is again raising the question of historicity. Is Acts history or fiction? In the eyes of most scholars, it is history – but not the kind of history that pre[c]ludes fiction.”<sup>11</sup> Regardless of those who still insist on the linking of the genre and historicity debate, the search for a generic classification for Acts does not necessarily need to concern itself with judgments of its historicity, but, rather, can explain how its discursive mode uses familiar strategies associated with historiographical genres for the purpose of advancing its own representational interests.<sup>12</sup>

The wide acceptance of Acts as a type of historiographical writing is further due to the flexibility of this genre in the ancient world. As such, there are a variety of subgenres of history with which Acts is compared.<sup>13</sup> For a representative sample, this includes Hellenistic history, Jewish historiography, and historical monograph, to list just a few representative examples.<sup>14</sup> While

<sup>10</sup> Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Phillips, “Genre of Acts,” 385.

<sup>12</sup> On the portrait of Paul in Acts as a prominent reason for questioning the narrative’s historical reliability, see Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts* (Guides to New Testament Exegesis 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995), 18. For a representative sample of those works that are supportive of a positive judgment see Colin J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (WUNT 49; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989); I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian & Theologian* (3rd ed.; New Testament Profiles; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988); Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 1989); Martin Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

<sup>13</sup> For such studies, the question has been to what specific subgenre of history does Acts belong? Thomas E. Phillips reviews four of these in “The Genre of Acts,” 375–82. For a comparison with biblical historiography, see Brian S. Rosner, “Acts and Biblical History,” Pages 65–82 in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (eds. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke; vol. 1; The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993). See also Hubert Cancik, “The History of Culture, Religion, and Institutions in Ancient Historiography: Philological Observations Concerning Luke’s History,” *JBL* 116, no. 4 (1997): 673–95.

<sup>14</sup> For a comparison with historical monograph, see Darryl W. Palmer, “Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph,” Pages 1–29 in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting* (eds.



there is still no sight of a consensus, the leading scholars in this debate agree that Acts is some form of history driven by legitimating interests.<sup>15</sup> The question still remains, however, as to how this is any different from the *broader* uses of the term “apologetic,” which had its purpose in legitimization.

Major debates have transpired over how exactly to situate the text in relation to apologetic literature. Such a classification seems warranted by the fact that apologetic language occurs within the narrative and with a greater frequency than in any other NT text. Six out of the ten times the verb *apologeomai* occurs in the NT, it occurs in Acts, with two additional instances in the Gospel of Luke.<sup>16</sup> It is still debated whether the term “apologetic” is an appropriate designation for Acts.<sup>17</sup> The most common criticism is that Acts lacks the formal structure of an *apologia* in that it does not present direct defensive discourse addressed to an outside audience.<sup>18</sup> Instead, Acts’

Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke; vol. 1; *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993). For a comparison with Jewish historiography in the Greco-Roman period, see Carl R. Holladay, “Acts and the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors,” *NovT* 53, no. 1 (2011): 22–51. For a comparison with Hellenistic historiography, see David L. Balch, “Acts as Hellenistic Historiography,” in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1985* (SBLSP 24; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985), 429–32; David L. Balch, “The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History?” *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 33, no. 1 (1990): 5–19; Paul L. Maier, “Luke as a Hellenistic Historian.” Pages 413–34 in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (Text and Editions for New Testament Study 9; eds. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> On the prominent and preference for “legitimizing narrative” among scholars, see Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2006), 256. As Loveday Alexander argues, “the identification of Acts’ genre as ‘apologetic historiography’ raises problems of its own.” Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 192, which refers to the work of R. A. Oden, Jr., “Philo of Byblos and Hellenistic Historiography,” *PEQ* 110 (1978): 115–26.

<sup>16</sup> Luke 12:11; 21:14; Acts 19:33; 24:10; 25:8; 26:1; 26:2; 26:24. Acts contains two out of the eight occurrences of *apologia* in the NT; Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 193.

<sup>17</sup> From this perspective the term, “apologetic” is normally thought of as a defense of one’s position directed toward outsiders. This view has been common among NT scholars since the early eighteenth century, see W. Ward Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1975); Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts*, 17. See also N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992), 376–77; Lars Dahle, “Acts 17:16–34: An Apologetic Model Then and Now?” *TynBul* 53, no. 2 (2002): 313–16. For a representative example of someone who argues that Acts is an internally directed apology, see David P. Moessner, “Luke’s ‘Witness of Witnesses’: Paul as Definer and Defender of the Tradition of the Apostles – ‘from the Beginning,’” Pages 117–47 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul’s Claim Upon Israel’s Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters* (LNTS 452; eds. David P. Moessner et al.; London: T&T Clark, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 193.

discursive mode is dramatic narrative, and there is little chance it was ever intended to be read or heard by such outsiders. Therefore, if there is an apologetic agenda at play, its strategies are quite different from those typically associated with apologetic literature.<sup>19</sup> And thus, any attempt to maintain the view of Acts as apologetic must take its dramatic narrative mode seriously.<sup>20</sup>

Thanks to the work of Gregory Sterling, the definition of apologetic is now expanded to include history writing aimed at group definition and representation.<sup>21</sup> As Sterling argues, “Luke–Acts defines Christianity both internally and externally. The two are related by the recognition that Christianity is a movement in history. It must understand both itself and the world in which it exists.”<sup>22</sup> Sterling’s classification of Acts as apologetic historiography seems quite compelling based on the following description of the genre and its function, “Apologetic historiography is the story of a subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who follows the group’s own traditions but Hellenizes them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world.”<sup>23</sup> Sterling looks to Josephus’s *Antiquities of the Jews* as the most important example of

<sup>19</sup> Recent studies of apologetic literature, however, have also been broadening the definition of this category. See M. J. Edwards, Martin Goodman, S. R. F. Price, and Christopher Rowland, eds., *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Anders-Christian Jacobsen, Jörg Ulrich, and David Brakke, eds., *Critique and Apologetics: Jews, Christians, and Pagans in Antiquity* (Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity v. 4; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009); Jörg Ulrich, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, and Majastina Kahlos, eds., *Continuity and Discontinuity in Early Christian Apologetics* (Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity v. 5; New York: Lang, 2009); D. W. Palmer, “Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 3 (1983): 234–59. For a much earlier perspective, see William Fairweather, “The Greek Apologists of the Second Century,” *The Biblical World* 26, no. 2 (1905): 132–43. On the relevance of the concept of propaganda to Acts, see Arthur J. Droge, “Apologetics, NT,” Pages 302–7 in *Anchor Bible Dictionary I* (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1998).

<sup>20</sup> Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 193.

<sup>21</sup> For works on the competitive religious environment Acts was composed, see J. B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007); Mary Beard, John North, and S. R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); James Rives, “Graeco-Roman Religion in the Roman Empire: Old Assumptions and New Approaches,” *CBR* 8, no. 2 (2010): 240–99; Peter van Nuffelen, *Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Clifford Ando, *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

<sup>22</sup> Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 386.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

this genre.<sup>24</sup> The work of Sterling has greatly influenced the approach of this study, which seeks to maintain the apologetic classification as synonymous with legitimation because it helps to bring into focus the dynamics of self-definition in the rhetorical effects of Acts' extended narrative.<sup>25</sup>

In what follows, I wish add to the ongoing debate by situating the text within the multimedia context of the Roman Empire, in order to consider how the text relates to its visual milieu, enabling a different perspective that explains how Acts' discursive mode served as a vital part of its apologetic aims in advancing its legitimating interests.<sup>26</sup> Since one of the main obstacles facing attempts to classify Acts within a single generic category is that the narrative shares an affinity with an eclectic mixture of literary works that transcends any one particular category, there is great reason to view Acts from within the multimedia context of antiquity, especially the world of images.<sup>27</sup> Such eclecticism was a characteristic of Roman cultural production in general: the tendency to combine a mixture of elements from the Greek and Roman past in the same composition. This is certainly true of visual representations in Roman art.<sup>28</sup> For example, Richard Brilliant has identified historical, novelistic, and epic dimensions to the Column of Trajan's visual narrative. To be sure, this was a feature of Hellenistic literature in general as different *topoi* melded together to create new hybrid forms. Heretofore, however, no sustained attempts have been made to include Greco-Roman

<sup>24</sup> See also Todd C. Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography* (Emory Studies in Early Christianity; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 135–45.

<sup>25</sup> While some scholars continue to argue for one subgenre over another, there is now a general caution to not restrict Acts within too narrow of a subgenre of history. See Loveday Alexander, "Marathon or Jericho? Reading Acts in Dialogue with Biblical and Greek Historiography," Pages 92–105 in *Auguries: The Jubilee Volume of the Sheffield Department of Biblical Studies* (JSOTSup 269; eds. David J. A. Clines and Stephen D. Moore; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> David L. Balch, "Comments on the Genre and a Political Theme of Luke-Acts: A Preliminary Comparison of Two Hellenistic Historians," Pages 343–61 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1989* (SBLSP 28; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989). For a concise introduction to the genre debate, see Phillips, "The Genre of Acts," 365–96; Mark Allan Powell, *What Are They Saying about Acts?* (New York: Paulist, 1991), 5–20.

<sup>27</sup> See Penner on the shifting lines between history and biography within progymnastic exercises. See Todd Penner, "Madness in the Method: The Acts of the Apostles in Current Study," *CBR* 2, no. 2 (2004): 233–41.

<sup>28</sup> For example, defeated Dacians are portrayed on the Column of Trajan in a style that is reminiscent of Hellenistic predecessors while Roman forces are portrayed in a less elaborate and simpler style. This has been described as a prime example of mid-Italic style that is unrelated to the classicizing style of Augustan cultural production. Monuments, in particular, integrate different genres in a way that proves immensely helpful in explaining the combination of specific generic traits in Acts.

monumental reliefs when considering suitable analogues to Acts, which can include narrative representations and possess similar discursive modes, strategies, and conventions as found in literature from the period.<sup>29</sup> The primary reason for this is not a lack of correspondences, but rather a long-standing bifurcation of texts and images.<sup>30</sup> Fortunately, recent theoretical work in the field of art history provides frameworks for understanding the interrelationship between texts and images and how they participate in the same communicative process.<sup>31</sup>

### The Multimedia Context of Antiquity

In Roman culture, literary productions and performances served alongside a variety of other media, such as architecture, monuments, sculpture, and epigraphy, to constitute the ancient media context in which Acts was composed and consumed.<sup>32</sup> Different types of media were employed alongside one another for the shared purpose of communication and often developed in parallel and in dialogue.<sup>33</sup> Visual displays played an especially prominent role in the communicative world of antiquity, due, in part, to low literacy rates, as well as the sheer ubiquity of manufactured images.<sup>34</sup> Roman

<sup>29</sup> Elsner argues that monuments can take both visual and verbal forms. See Elsner, "Inventing Imperium," 32–53. This is also argued in Greg Woolf, "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire," *JRS* 86 (1996): 22–39. See also Edmund Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>30</sup> Davina C. Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 16–19.

<sup>31</sup> This is fleshed out methodologically in Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> For the relevance of media studies to New Testament topics, see Anthony Le Donne and Tom Thatcher, eds., *The Fourth Gospel in First-Century Media Culture* (The Library of New Testament Studies; New York: T&T Clark), 2012. Stewart argues that "Art above all served to provide a common language of empire, not only for those large sections of the population who made or purchased sculptures, painting, mosaics, and the other art-forms that have concerned us, but also for those who used and viewed them." Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 162.

<sup>33</sup> Eugenio La Rocca speaks to the communicative role of art and highlights the importance of understanding the artistic syntax. See Eugenio La Rocca, "Art and Representation." Page 315 in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* (eds. Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 1–3. For a general introduction to Roman art, see Michael Grant, *Art in the Roman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Paul Zanker and Henry Heitmann-Gordon, *Roman Art* (Los Angeles, CA; Brighton, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012); Niels Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial*

society was visually mediated.<sup>35</sup> Images of all sorts decorated the public and private spaces in which individuals lived their lives. Thus, for most of the population, knowledge of the world was largely acquired not by reading texts but by seeing images. There was, however, a close relationship between texts and images within Roman culture.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it would be a mistake to approach texts as autonomous artifacts that were somehow independent from the viewing culture of antiquity. Instead, verbal and visual means of communication may be analyzed in tandem with one another since their connections transcend their differing mode of representation and both were a product of the cultures in which they were produced.<sup>37</sup> For example, as art historian Richard Brilliant argues concerning the ancient novels, “it cannot be a coincidence that the masterpieces of Achilles Tatius, Clitophon and Leucippe and others, are roughly contemporary with those ‘masterpieces’ of Roman narrative art, the Column of Trajan and the Column of Marcus Aurelius.”<sup>38</sup> Similar arguments have been made concerning the relationship of other visual and verbal narratives, such as Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which, as Peter Holliday points out, parallels the structures of its contemporary visual narratives.<sup>39</sup> These particular connections between art and literature are but a few prime examples of the close interplay between images and texts within

*Policy* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 1988); Fred S. Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art* (enhanced edition; Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010); Sarah Scott and Jane Webster, eds., *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>35</sup> Natalie Kampen, “Looking at Gender: The Column of Trajan and Roman Historical Relief.” Pages 46–73 in *Feminisms in the Academy* (eds. Domna C. Stanton and Abigail J. Stewart; Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1995). “Visual analysis helps to demonstrate concepts for which clear textual evidence is either lacking or not yet studied. Visual language can be as important, especially in societies in which the majority of people are illiterate, as written texts,” 48.

<sup>36</sup> Elsner discusses the ambivalence within Roman culture between reading texts and looking at art, see Elsner, “Introduction,” 1, referring to his brief discussion of the painted frieze of the Villa of the Mysteries of a boy looking at a book.

<sup>37</sup> I have learned a great deal from researching other art historical periods. See David Castriota, “Introduction: Political Art and the Rhetoric of Power in the Historical Continuum.” Pages 1–14 in *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), 2.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 18.

<sup>39</sup> See Holliday for his argument of how Virgil’s entire epic parallels visual narratives in structure and *topoi*, Peter Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), xvii. For a more theoretically charged perspective of this topic, see Michael Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 340.

Roman culture.<sup>40</sup> Texts and images serve as two types of representational media manifesting the same conceptual world. They are capable of mutually reflecting the influences of new developments in rhetoric, historiography, literature, religion, and philosophy.<sup>41</sup> Developments in one medium, such as Roman historical reliefs, often had an impact on other modes of expression in another medium.<sup>42</sup> Images had the capacity to influence not only how other messages were produced, but also how they were consumed.<sup>43</sup> According to “new art history,” antiquity’s visual remains were an integral part of Roman cultural production and, as such, intricately tied to what Roger Von Dippe has described as “the web of political, religious and social institutions of a society, resulting in a similarity of ideas in different modes of expression... [permitting] free exchange between literature, rhetoric, history, philosophy and art.”<sup>44</sup> Such an approach allows different media types to be analyzed in light of one another, especially if they develop out of the same social and political milieu and evidence shared styles and/or subject matter.<sup>45</sup> There is a myriad of ways in which visual and verbal media have been further compared; variations depend on the objects under consideration.

Visual art did not merely reflect the historical conditions and interests at the time of its production; it also served as an agent in constructing that world. Holliday describes visual art as “formative tools in a fluid historical condition.”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> On the fundamental difference between images and texts, see Elsner, “Introduction,” 2; Valérie Huet, “Stories One Might Tell of Roman Art: Reading Trajan’s Column and the Tiberius Cup,” in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, 9–31 (21).

<sup>41</sup> Jaś Elsner explains how this relationship has been regarded within the field of art history over the years. Elsner, “Introduction,” 2.

<sup>42</sup> David Castriota argues for this view across different historical periods stretching from ancient Near Eastern art up to the modern period in “Introduction: Political Art and the Rhetoric of Power in the Historical Continuum,” in *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), 3.

<sup>43</sup> Postmodernist developments in artistic and literary criticism have stressed the role of the viewer or reader as active agents in the interpretive process. Differences in the background, knowledge, and culture of recipients results in a polysemy of meaning. For more on this, see Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, 191.

<sup>44</sup> Roger David Von Dippe, “The Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative in Roman Art, 300 B.C.–A.D. 200” (PhD diss., Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California, 2007), 22. Such an approach shifts the emphasis when analyzing art. Instead of focusing solely on aesthetical concerns, it concentrates on the cultural context in which artistic production and reception take place. Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*, xx.

<sup>45</sup> The association of art and politics is extremely ancient. Regarding the political dimensions of art, see Castriota, “Political Art and the Rhetoric of Power,” 2.

<sup>46</sup> Holliday, *Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*, xxi. Roman commemorative art has the capacity to reflect historical conditions and interests circulating at the

Works of art play an active role in constructing the social world of antiquity, with the power to change perceptions and shape ideas.<sup>47</sup> Visual art served and reflected the beliefs, values, and institutions in which it was produced and, in turn, was able to reinforce or alter ideologies.<sup>48</sup>

Within the Roman context, texts and images were both employed by individuals who were competing for status and attempting to achieve their goals through a common means of public representation and self-advertisement. For instance, epigraphy and portraiture served essentially the same range of functions in society, in that they were both employed by individuals to advertise their status and to secure their place for posterity. As Stewart argues, both texts and images could serve in “commemorating the dead or notable people of the past; honouring the living for their achievements and benefactions; providing permanent votive memorials in sanctuaries; and communicating authority and power.”<sup>49</sup> Thus, there could certainly be a significant overlap in the purpose of different media. Roman commemorative art played an especially important role as a visual medium broadly employed to advertise the achievements of individuals in society. As such, commemorative art often features elite males who wished to concretize their place in Roman society by displaying their service to the state.<sup>50</sup> In the form of public monuments, visual displays had the potential of providing viewers with the very models and language that one could appropriate to assert one’s own place in the wider world.

In what follows I will demonstrate that Acts is a product of antiquity’s multimedia culture, for it was within this context that its image of

time of their production, as well as actively construct that world. These are two sides of the same coin.

<sup>47</sup> Holliday says, “works of art are active ingredients of the social matrix and are socially formative products in their own right, making statements that can both change perceptions and mold ideas.” *Ibid.*, xxii.

<sup>48</sup> As such they have the potential to bear a wealth of cultural information that might otherwise be lost to the vestiges of history. See Von Dippe, “Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative,” 29; Castriota, “Political Art and the Rhetoric of Power,” 1–2.

<sup>49</sup> Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 77.

<sup>50</sup> Holliday recognizes that narrative art worked alongside other media to create the “urban text” that expressed civic and personal identity. See Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*, 20. For ways in which this observation might apply to Acts, see Halvor Moxnes, “‘He Saw That the City Was Full of Idols’ (Acts 17:16): Visualizing the World of the First Christians.” Pages 107–31 in *Mighty Minorities?: Minorities in Early Christianity, Positions and Strategies: Essays in Honour of Jacob Jervell on His 70th Birthday, 21 May 1995* (eds. David Hellholm, Halvor Moxnes, and Turid Karlsen Seim; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995).



the past took shape and its meanings were constructed.<sup>51</sup> Acts propagates memories of the apostles within a richly textured narrative mode that is characterized by its heavy use of realism and encomiastic style. In what follows I wish to correlate these stylistic features with parallel developments in Roman commemorative art, epitomized on the Column of Trajan, in order to show that the method of representation Acts employs belongs to the same discursive world that is embedded within monumental structures of the period.

Before moving forward, I wish to clearly state that my reasoning for reading Acts in concert with the Column of Trajan is not to make claims about the geographical origins of Acts. Chances are the author of Acts, along with its readers and sources, never visited the Forum complex in Rome where the Column was originally located, though scholars have certainly argued for a Roman province in the past.<sup>52</sup> Rather, my justification for reading Acts in concert with the Column depends on the following three claims. First, both stand as roughly contemporaneous “texts,” in so far as they both date to the beginning of the second century CE.<sup>53</sup> Second, both share similar purposes in glorifying the memories, perpetuating the honor, and constructing the status of their protagonists. Third, the narrative style of the Column provides the closest nonverbal analogy to the book of Acts existing from antiquity.<sup>54</sup> In what follows I will show how these two early second century artifacts stand as roughly contemporaneous “texts” that commemorate their protagonists within common discursive strategies, and as such, mutually shine light when read alongside one another.

### The Column of Trajan and the Rhetoric of Monumental Historiography

The Column of Trajan is one of the most remarkable and well-preserved monuments from the Roman period. The Column was dedicated in 113 CE and stands a towering 101 feet tall, monumental proportions for that

<sup>51</sup> There are several reasons why no study to date has taken such images seriously when considering the variety of representations in Acts. Deeply embedded within academic discourse is a bifurcation between the verbal and visual. Michael Squire attributes such a trend to the Reformation's privileging of word over image and texts as the sole arbiter of proper religious beliefs and practices. See Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, 17.

<sup>52</sup> For a representative sample of those who do argue that Acts was written for an audience in Rome, see John J. Kilgallen, “Luke Wrote to Rome – A Suggestion,” *Bib* 88 (2007): 251–55.

<sup>53</sup> See Introduction for a discussion of the dating debate. Pervo's dating of Acts to 115 CE puts Acts within two years of the completion of the Column.

<sup>54</sup> For a comparative perspectives on the communicative function of ancient Near Eastern art, see Castriota, “Political Art and the Rhetoric of Power,” 2.



time and ours.<sup>55</sup> The Column is made up of a series of seventeen hollow drums of Luna marble stacked on top of each other and is decorated with an unprecedented sculptural frieze that spirals along the surface from the very bottom of the Column to the very top.<sup>56</sup> Located inside the Column's shaft is a winding staircase, which one entered through a doorway on the south-eastern side of the base in order to climb to the summit and to stand on a balcony. From there the viewer had a breathtaking view of the surrounding Forum as a whole, the other adjacent imperial fora, and the city of Rome (see Figure 1). Trajan was buried together with his wife, Plotina, in golden urns inside the base that supports the Column.<sup>57</sup>

The Column is decorated with a frieze that extends to 625 feet, winding twenty-three times from the bottom of the Column to the top. It depicts Trajan's two Dacian campaigns (101–102 and 105–106 CE) in 155 scenes and includes a combined total of some 2,500 figures.<sup>58</sup> The reliefs depict the campaigns as a benevolent undertaking that served to bring peace and civilization to those being incorporated into the *imperium Romanum* (see Figure 2). In those scenes that depict bloodshed, Trajan is often removed from the violence by at least one compositional scene. In those scenes in which Trajan actually does appear at the site of a battle, the artist uses reverse positioning and blocking structures to separate him from the violence. Furthermore, the army is depicted to be working hard on various construction projects more often than in battle, while auxiliary forces from the provinces are envisioned

<sup>55</sup> This measurement does not include the Column's supportive base and crowning statue. For more technical architectural details, see Lynne Lancaster, "Building Trajan's Column," *AJA* 103, no. 3 (1999): 419–39.

<sup>56</sup> The Column served as a model and inspiration for a number of later constructions, most famously, the still-standing Column of Marcus Aurelius, as well as two additional columns in Constantinople, the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius, which no longer exist. More recently it served as an inspiration for the 9/11 firefighter's memorial in New York City. For studies on the Column of Marcus Aurelius and its relationship with the Column of Trajan, see Martin Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius: The Genesis and Meaning of a Roman Imperial Monument* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011); I. M. Ferris, *Hate and War: The Column of Marcus Aurelius* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2009).

<sup>57</sup> Trajan died at Selinus in Cilicia after a failed military campaign against the Parthians. His ashes were transported to Rome and placed in the pedestal of the Column. His wife Pompeia Plotina was placed there after her own death in 121. This was an unusual instance of burial inside the pomerium. The circumstances surrounding Trajan's death are a little uncertain. See Martin Goodman, *Roman World 44BC–180AD* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 69.

<sup>58</sup> For the use of the Column as a source for the Roman army, especially on the realities of life on the march and battle conditions, see Danae Richter, *Das römische Heer auf der Trajanssäule: Waffen und Ausrüstung: Marsch, Arbeit und Kampf* (Mentor: Studien zu Metallarbeiten und Toreutik der Antike und Zyperns Herausgegeben von Reinhard Stupperich und Richard Petrovsky Band 3; Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2014).



1. Column of Trajan, Rome, c. 113 CE.



2. Spiraling sculptural frieze on the Column of Trajan, Rome, c. 113 CE.

doing most of the fighting.<sup>59</sup> There are a limited number of additional scene types, including *adlocutio* scenes, sacrifices, Trajan's reception of embassies and prisoners, marches, and sea voyages.<sup>60</sup> The reliefs represent a visual history in a monumental form.<sup>61</sup>

The narrative program of Trajan's Column begins on the Roman side of the river Danube with images of Roman fortifications, large woodpiles, haystacks, and details pertaining to the preparations of the First Dacian War (101 CE). Soldiers are depicted loading barrels and army supplies onto barges for transportation up the river (scenes I and II). As the narrative spirals around, a giant image of Danuvius, the personification of the river Danube, rises out of the water to observe Roman troops crossing the river on pontoon bridges to begin the military conquest. Legions march toward *barbaricum* in an orderly manner with steadfast purpose led by a Roman officer and a group of standard bearers (scene III; see Figure 3).

Once in *barbaricum* Trajan appears in front of two high-ranking officials on a stone dais overlooking an epitome of the entire military ensemble, including standard bearers and legionaries, and provides the official signal for their mission of occupying enemy territory to begin. However, in the scenes that follow, Trajan and the Roman legions are removed from the violence and fighting that ensues, depicted working hard hoisting blocks of stone, felling trees, and stacking their trunks, all to build a series of distinctively Roman-style constructions. The process of occupying enemy territory begins, though it is cast as a civilizing mission that brings a variety of benefits to Dacia, including architectural and moral developments. In scene XII, Trajan is presented surrounded by his usual escorts while standing in the

<sup>59</sup> Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 60. In an attempt to make the legionaries identifiable in their building activities, they are unrealistically depicted wearing their armor. For a detailed description and analysis of the auxiliary troops and their equipment depicted on the Column, see Richter, *Das römische Heer auf der Trajanssäule*, 184–283.

<sup>60</sup> Filippo Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan* (trans. Cynthia Rockwell, Rome: Colombo, 2000), 16; see also 29.

<sup>61</sup> The Column served a variety of functions. First, it served to commemorate the Dacian wars, the booty of which served to fund the construction of the Forum. Second, the Column commemorated the adjacent hill, which was removed for its construction. Third, it served honorific purposes in extolling the accomplishments of Trajan and the Roman army. Fourth, it served funerary purposes as its base was used as Trajan's tomb. These purposes cohere with what Roger Von Dippe describes as the function of Roman monuments in general, to magnify the status of their honoree or sponsor within a culture where "the mainspring of elite society was the pursuit of *gloria* in this life and *memoria* after death." Von Dippe, "Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative," 21. See Huet, "Stories One Might Tell of Roman Art," 10, which reviews the work of Salvatore Settis in discussing the various meanings and functions of the column; see also Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 52–53.





3. Scene III: Danuvius rising out of the river Danube.

middle of a fortified encampment surveying the work of the legionaries who are passing stone blocks on the left and digging a trench with baskets of dirt below (see [Figure 4](#)).

The first sight of the enemy comes in the figure of a single captive prisoner with a long beard and shaggy hair whose hands are tied as he is being forcibly thrust by auxiliary soldiers to be interrogated by Trajan (scene XVII; see [Figure 5](#)). This initiates a series of scenes that feature Trajan generously granting mercy and forgiveness to those Dacians who choose to surrender.

Two scenes that detail Dacian diplomacy soon follow. The first includes three Dacians on horseback with the one in the foreground raising his right hand to signal their desire to surrender themselves over to the emperor (scenes XXVI–XXVIII). The second includes a Dacian embassy that arrives before Trajan and similarly extends a hand of peace though, in this case, Trajan appears to be reluctant to relinquish his sword (scenes XXVII–XXIX). Travel is signaled as Roman troops load their supplies onto a boat that is moored on the banks in front of a fortified city complete with a stone amphitheater (scene XXXIII).

After several more encounters, some violent and others diplomatic, Roman victory comes into plain sight. So, a large number of Dacians set up a stronghold where they will choose a noble death over captivity. In scene CXXI, two Dacian men are pictured handing out liquid poison while others reach forward to partake. Several Dacians are depicted dying amidst the



4. Scene XIII: Trajan stares straight while legionaries dig a moat and build a stone structure.

crowd. Corpses are depicted lying in a trench. One Dacian expresses great despair as he holds the head of a dead comrade; however, he is offered a beverage that will soon put him out of his misery as well. All of the Dacians present are in a state of complete despair (see [Figure 6](#)). By way of contrast, a sizeable group chooses to surrender, and they unanimously extend their hands to Trajan for pardon (scene CXXIII; see [Figure 7](#)).





5. Scene XVII: First contact scene between Romans and Dacians.



6. Scene CXXI: Dacian stronghold and mass suicide with liquid poison.



7. Scene CXXIII: Dacians extend their hand expecting to receive mercy and pardon from Trajan.

Trajan's final appearance on the Column includes a group of Dacian deserters who are escorted to the emperor by auxiliary troops where they too will be pardoned. Trajan is able to disappear from the remaining frieze because the outcome has already been decided and Dacian land and resources (including gold mines) now belong to Rome (scene CXLII). At the end of the spiraling frieze, toward the very top of the Column, cavalry finally catch up with the Dacian king Decebalus. Instead of surrendering, however, he kneels beneath a tree and takes his own life, slitting his throat with his own curved sword (*falx*; see scene CXLV).

The Column aligns closely with what Mattingly refers to as “the creation of a complex ideology of empire that distorted reality and allowed the Roman elite to believe in the justice and divine approval of its colonial role.”<sup>62</sup> Roman authors developed the theme that the territorial expansion of the Roman Empire was legitimized and justified by the good that it brought to subjects. This study acknowledges that such rhetoric was far from

<sup>62</sup> David J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 18.



reality for most subjects, but it is, at the same time, the picture of Rome others were handed and many came to believe in.

The Column of Trajan's spiraling sculptural relief serves as a commemorative narrative aimed at shaping public memory of Trajan and his accomplishments. Penelope Davis analyzes the complex ways in which the Column constructs what she calls "a living memory."<sup>63</sup> She explores how its architecture served to promote the perpetuation of Trajan's memory. Situating the Column within the context of monumental tombs during the period, she argues that it served to manipulate its viewers physically and cognitively, much like Augustus's mausoleum complex. Davis concludes that "sculptural and architectural form come together most successfully in the service of viewer manipulation, conspiring to perpetuate Trajan's memory and to enforce reenactment of honorific rituals... the frieze encouraged the visitor to circumambulate the sacred burial spot, in order to commit the deceased to his resting place, and to reenact and perpetuate rituals performed at the emperor's burial."<sup>64</sup>

The Column of Trajan is itself a particularly illustrative case of the interconnectedness between texts and images in Roman society. The Column has four noteworthy connections with texts. First, its helical frieze was designed to resemble a long literary scroll wrapping the column.<sup>65</sup> Second, it visualizes the same Dacian campaigns described in Trajan's now lost self-authored book of the same event. Third, it stands in the middle of two libraries flanked on each side.<sup>66</sup> Fourth, the Column stands on a base that explains the monument's purpose with actual inscribed words.<sup>67</sup> Although the Column serves as a prime example of the interconnected relationship between texts and images,

<sup>63</sup> Penelope J. E. Davies, "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *AJA* 101, no. 1 (1997): 41. Coarelli argues concerning this point and its relation to funerary traditions, *The Column of Trajan*, 16.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 58–59. For a concise history of interpretation of the Column, see Paul Zanker, "Preface," in Coarelli, *Column of Trajan*, vii.

<sup>65</sup> On the origins of the winding frieze, see Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 11.

<sup>66</sup> Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 52. It is hypothesized that one could have viewed the upper registers of the Column's helical frieze by standing on top of the libraries, thus further creating links between the Column and the library.

<sup>67</sup> Huet, "Stories One Might Tell," 21. The base's inscription reads: "Senatus populusque romanus / Imp(eratori) Caesari Divi Nervae f(ilio) Nervae / Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dacico pontiff(ici) / maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVII imp(eratori) VI co(n)s(uli) VI p(atr)i P(atriciae) / Ad declarandum quantae altitudinis / mons et locus tant[is ope]ribus sit egestus" (The Senate and People of Rome (dedicate) to the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan, son of the divine Nerva, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, high priest, empowered as tribune for the seventeenth time, proclaimed emperor for the sixth time, consul for the sixth time, father of the nation. To indicate how high (was) the mountainous place (that) was leveled to (build) a work of such magnitude") [*CIL VI 960*]. Translated by Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 4.

it also complicates this relationship since it poses several visual problems, thus presenting several difficulties for interpreting the Column. Concerning the Column's near illegibility, Valerie Huet has argued,

without the help of reproduction techniques, most of its so-called historical reliefs are invisible to the viewer. The viewer who stands at the foot of the column sees enough to know that the whole column is covered with reliefs but not enough to know what they represent. Thus the study of the column depends entirely on the availability of modern techniques of reproduction.<sup>68</sup>

In spite of the visual problems the Column's design poses to the viewer, it stands in close relation to texts, illustrating the interface between texts and images in Roman society, and concretizing more widely circulating imperial ideology in figurative form.

In what follows I wish to correlate Acts' own mode of representation with parallel developments in Roman commemorative art typified on the helical frieze of the Column of Trajan. My purpose is to show that stylistic features transcended particular media and that Acts venerates the memory of the apostles in conformity with the same representational methods found on contemporary Roman monuments. In the end, I will argue that Acts is itself an example of monumental rhetoric that sought to participate within a particular contemporary discursive mode in order to lay claim to social power and legitimize the place of Christians in the wider world.

### Continuous Narrative Style

The first stylistic feature of Acts I wish to correlate with the Column of Trajan is that of a continuous narrative style.<sup>69</sup> The Column's helical frieze sequences together a series of dramatic episodes into an extended narrative format from beginning to end, detailing the Roman army's various journeys,

<sup>68</sup> Huet, "Stories One Might Tell of Roman Art," 12; see also Brilliant, *Visual Narratives*, 94. As R. Bianchi Bandinelli famously put it, "no one could ever follow with the eye the detailed narration on the relief wrapped around the column, just as no one of the time could have appreciated the details of the Parthenon frieze at a height of eighteen meters in narrow space between the temple columns." Certainly, "from the galleries of the two libraries that were erected flanking the column one could certainly see the relief at various heights; but was always a vertical reading. There was never a way to follow the narration around the spiral relief," quoted in Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 19.

<sup>69</sup> Concerning the "unifying framework" that the helical frieze creates, as well as the sense of "linear time," *ibid.*, *The Column of Trajan*, 29.

building programs, and conquests into Dacia.<sup>70</sup> The continuous narrative is only interrupted momentarily in a single scene located halfway up the Column of a winged victory, marking the transition from the First to the Second Dacian War. For this reason, the Column of Trajan's helical frieze coheres in style with a class of Roman historical reliefs commonly referred to as "continuous narrative style."<sup>71</sup> This class of Roman art is somewhat rare and has few Greek antecedents. In fact, the full development of the historical continuous narrative style came into full effect in the Roman period during the reign of Trajan.<sup>72</sup> The importance of this style to the overall effect of the Column is vital in contributing to its success as a triumphal monument and an historical record of events. Roger Von Dippe argues that "without the continuous style the journeys, ceremonials, sacrifices and battles would be episodic and disconnected. The format links the events into a continuous whole, whereby the *virtus* of Trajan and the *industria* of the army lead inevitably to ultimate success."<sup>73</sup>

The continuous narrative style in Roman visual art has recently been defined as consisting of "two or more events from the same story, occurring at different time periods and featuring the same protagonist in at least two distinct activities. These sequential events are not separated into definitively segregated regions of space. They share a background that may contain landscape or architectural elements or may be completely blank, consisting of so-called negative space."<sup>74</sup> It is not a coincidence that the Column of Trajan so perfectly coheres with the defining characteristics of Roman continuous narrative art, for, due to its remarkable survival, it has helped in the very process of defining this class by Roman art historians.

<sup>70</sup> As Susan Mattern reminds us, it is significant that Trajan undertook the conquest of Dacia himself. Previous emperors were content to entrust major campaigns to specially appointed commanders, or to make an appearance just long enough to gain a military reputation. Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 94. Concerning this issue, Fergus Millar argues, "Trajan foreshadows the pattern which became clearly established in the middle of the second century, and which continued unbroken up to the end of the fourth, whereby emperors conducted major military campaigns in person." Fergus Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East: Volume 2: Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire* (eds. Hannah Cotton and Guy Rogers, Vol. 2; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 26.

<sup>71</sup> Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1968), 128.

<sup>72</sup> Von Dippe, "Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative," 354. Excluded from this category are those monoscenic reliefs that comprise a large number of extant Greco-Roman compositions.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 423; see also Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, 109.

<sup>74</sup> Von Dippe, "Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative," 17; Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, 109.

On the Column, the emperor Trajan serves as the focus of the narrative as he appears fifty-nine times over the course of roughly 155 scenes. He is portrayed playing several different roles, including priest, helmsman, judge, supreme military commander, benefactor, merciful captor, receiver of embassies, and more. The different scenes are sequenced into a continuous narrative by the strategic mapping of events onto a unified geographic setting of the Dacian landscape. This technique is illustrated best in those scenes at the beginning of the narrative that exert much energy to frame the map-like background that runs throughout.<sup>75</sup>

The use of the continuous narrative style was but one choice among several possibilities to represent the Dacian campaigns. After all, the Forum in which the Column stood served as a monumental display of Trajan's military success, replete with statues of Roman heroes and captive Dacians, exotic decorative marble, diverse architectural styles, and the sheer size and grandeur of the buildings themselves all attested to Roman victory. Furthermore, Trajan could have chosen to list his successes in a way that modeled Augustus's engraving of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Instead, Trajan chose to represent his victories with particular detail in a monument that displayed continuous narrative art.<sup>76</sup>

The Romans employed a number of different narrative styles in works featuring the continuous narrative form.<sup>77</sup> Cicero classifies these in terms of plain, middle, and grand style.<sup>78</sup> And given the embeddedness of rhetorical forms within Roman narrative art, these various styles produced different narrative choices in commemorative art. The Column follows the plain style of Roman narrative art quite closely. Concerning this type, Van Dippe writes, "Italo-Etruscan elements and a factual, unornamented style may be equated with the plain style in rhetoric. The plain style in narrative art was limited to the portrayal of recent historical and biographical events, and choice of the plain style was dictated by a desire to profess *Romanitas* and the possession of antique virtue."<sup>79</sup> By way of contrast, another Trajanic continuous narrative frieze, the Great Trajanic frieze, is often associated with the grand style tradition. "An alternative choice for historical narration was the grand style,

<sup>75</sup> John W. Stephenson, "The Column of Trajan in the Light of Ancient Cartography and Geography," *Journal of Historical Geography* 40 (2013): 79–93.

<sup>76</sup> Raymond Chevallier, *Aïôn: le temps chez les Romains* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1976), 157.

<sup>77</sup> The variety of narratives transcended the image/text divide in both their style and function. On this point, see Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*, 1.

<sup>78</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 20, 76.

<sup>79</sup> Von Dippe, "Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative," 159.

derived from art of the Hellenistic ruler cults. This style, employed for statues of Greek gods and heroes, conferred a superhuman gloss on achievement, reflecting the divine favor accorded to the rulers of the Hellenistic monarchies.”<sup>80</sup> The middle style was also employed in continuous narrative art, and was, according to Von Dippe, “designed for enjoyment and decorative qualities, was most frequently chosen for recounting the stories of Greek mythology, and Italo-Etruscan elements were usually excluded from such stories.”<sup>81</sup> The “plain style” that is represented on the Column was predominantly reserved in Roman society for narratives representing events from the recent past and may have originated as a style particularly aimed at popular consumption.<sup>82</sup>

As we turn to Acts, we must concede to finding something very similar to the continuous narrative style featured on the Column. Acts does indeed evidence the work of an author who was interested in shaping the memory of the apostles into a linear sequence of what would otherwise be a series of disconnected dramatic episodes. As Hans Conzelman recognizes, “The most important stylistic means used to achieve this picture of unilinear development is the schematization of Paul’s work into missionary journeys. This has dominated the historical picture to the present day.”<sup>83</sup> There is no doubt that Acts’ historical schematization of Paul has greatly influenced conceptions

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 159. The Great Trajanic Frieze was roughly contemporary with the Column and provides additional support that the continuous narrative style emerged in Roman commemorative art in the Trajanic period. The Great Trajanic Frieze was re-employed on the Arch of Constantine dedicated in 315. It was most likely used to originally decorate the Forum of Trajan. The frieze is now divided into four portions, but once formed part of a continuous narrative frieze. One section of this frieze is noteworthy because of its depiction of Trajan on horseback mowing down a cluster of Dacians. The image is reminiscent of a mosaic of Alexander from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, where the Macedonian king leads the battle against Persian opponents. Another noteworthy scene is of Trajan’s *adventus* in Rome with Victoria standing behind him placing an oak wreath on his head. See Gerhard Koeppl, “The Column of Trajan: Narrative Technique and the Image of the Emperor,” Pages 245–57 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)* (eds. Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 245.

<sup>81</sup> Von Dippe, “Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative,” 159.

<sup>82</sup> In contrast to the continuous narrative format found on the Column and the Great Trajanic Frieze are the figurative panels decorating Trajan’s Arch at Beneventum. Trajan is represented in frieze-frame compositions standing next to personifications, divinities, and fellow mortals. Thus, rather than telling the story of Trajan’s accomplishments, the Arch magnifies his achievements in static compositions. Koeppl, “The Column of Trajan,” 246; Von Dippe, “Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative,” 73. For a discussion of the Column of Trajan and its relationship with the Arch at Beneventum, see Tonio Hölscher, “Bilder der Macht und Herrschaft,” Pages 127–44 in *Trajan: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>83</sup> Hans Conzelman, *The Theology of St. Luke* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), xliii.

of the apostle's life and work. Acts stands in a Pauline tradition whereby the image of Paul has already undergone considerable transformation.<sup>84</sup>

Another example that illustrates how the narrative mode in Acts can be likened to the continuous narrative style featured on the Column is pointed out by Michael Thompson, who argues that when the "we" passages are read together, they form a "continuous geographical narrative."<sup>85</sup> Each successive "we" passage begins from the same general location where the previous passage stops. Several studies have demonstrated the importance of Acts' geographical interests.<sup>86</sup> This is due, largely, to the organizing role travel plays in both narratives. The economy of travel is given special attention on the Column as both a display of *Romanitas* as well as a structuring principle of the narrative as a whole. On the Column, travel takes place on both land and sea. The Column is structured around two major wars against the Dacians that each begin with scenes detailing the conditions, preparations, and mastery of Trajan and the army's travels by way of sea. In addition to this, there is an additional travel campaign detailed halfway through the first of these Dacians wars, effectively organizing the visual narrative into three campaigns, all initiated by extended sea travel scenes. Thus, there are three main groups of scenes that depict boats and ships (scene XXXIII; see [Figure 8](#)). As Coulston puts it, "In many respects the reliefs of Trajan's Column are all about travel: travel of emperor and army to win victories, explore new regions, meet new peoples and to collect the royal gold which went to pay for the massive building complex within which the Column stood."<sup>87</sup>

The Column's interest in water crossings is developed in a set of scenes depicting Roman troops successfully fording rivers and an index of *Romanitas*. The flip side of this is that Dacians are repeatedly depicted as completely inept in water. There is a jeering scene of Dacians unsuccessfully crossing a river, which serves to contrast them with the scene of the Romans expertly crossing. This theme is further developed in the depiction of Roman bridge building. Perhaps the most important of these

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, xlv.

<sup>85</sup> Michael B. Thompson, "Paul in the Book of Acts: Differences and Distance," *Expository Times* 122, no. 9 (2011): 426.

<sup>86</sup> Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 115; James M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon." Pages 483–544 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (eds. David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf; The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 2; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994); Matthew Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts* (SNTSMS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>87</sup> Jon Coulston, "Transport and Travel on the Column of Trajan," in *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (Roman Archaeology Conference; eds. C. E. P. Adams and Ray Laurence; New York: Routledge, 2001), 126.





8. Scene xxxiii: Soldiers load boats with supplies with stone amphitheater in the background.

is the depiction of the famous bridge built by Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's chief military architect and advisor, who is credited with constructing a monumental bridge between the two Dacian campaigns. The structure is portrayed bridging the great river Danube and offering a dry passageway connecting Roman territory with the frontier. This image shows its impressive size, built with a combination of stone and wood. The bridge scene stands in contrast with the dilapidated wooden bridge built by Dacians.

That travel too serves as a key feature and organizational structure for Acts is not contested. Viewing Acts in light of the Column provides perspectives of viewing the interest in travel in Acts as an attempt to characterize Paul as participating in Roman cultural activities and excelling in the same capacities. In both Acts and the Column, travel serves to structure the entire narratives, as well as to confer cultural capital on his protagonists.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Coulston, "Transport and Travel," 107. Similarly, Eleni Manolaraki writes concerning Pliny's own use of nautical motifs, "Pliny uses extensive nautical motifs in both the Panegyricus and several letters in which he reflects on his imperial encomium. In both these texts, Pliny puts marine imagery to work for both his political and his literary agenda." Eleni Manolaraki, "Political and Rhetorical Seascapes in Pliny's Panegyricus," *Classical Philology* 103, no. 4 (2008): 374–94.



That Acts adopts a dramatic continuous narrative style similar to that found on the Column is evidenced in how the stories surrounding the election of the twelfth apostle are linked together. The author's interest in a dramatic continuous presentation is demonstrated through the crafting of a dramatic story that includes (1) Peter interpreting an ancient oracle, which announces that scripture foretold the betrayal of Judas (1:16–20); (2) details concerning the need for a twelfth apostle (1:21–22); (3) the identification of Barsabbas and Matthias (1:23); and (4) the casting of lots (1:26). Here, the election of the twelfth apostle is presented in a vivid and continuous manner.

Luke's use of the extended narrative form might seem, in retrospect, an obvious stylistic choice in which to carry out the author's purposes, since there were a sufficient number of other early Christian narratives circulating at the time, some of which the author seems to have been familiar with, including the Gospel of Mark. At the time of composition, however, such a decision might not have felt like such an obvious choice, especially considering the predominance of the epistolary form as a means of early Christian communication, especially from within the Pauline circles, with which the author seems intimately familiar.

The observation that Acts and the Column both employ a common extended narrative format as their chosen form of representation is not sufficient enough to connect these two objects. It is enough, however, to pose a question about the importance of continuous narrative as the chosen mode of representation and whether it has relevance for understanding the contemporary significance of Acts' intended message. Its persuasive effect, above all, need not go unnoticed in creating an "illusory matrix of continuity," that events followed in the same order as they appear in the constructed narrative.<sup>89</sup>

### Verisimilitude

The second stylistic feature of Acts I wish to correlate with the Column is the extensive use of verisimilitude. An intricate part of the Column's continuous narrative style is the use of a realist visual grammar intended to heighten viewers' impression that what they see is unmediated reality of the purely documentary sort.<sup>90</sup> This technique involves extraneous details that are superfluous

<sup>89</sup> Brilliant, *Visual Narratives*, 96. On the significance of the emergence of the continuous narrative style within art-historical perspectives, see Franz Wickhoff, *Roman Art: Some of Its Principles and Their Application to Early Christian Painting* (ed. and trans. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), 114.

<sup>90</sup> For the close relationship between continuous narrative and verisimilitude see *ibid.*, 112. Winter analyzes Assyrian use of a realist visual grammar in Irene Winter, "After the Battle is Over: The Stele of the Vultures and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East." Pages 17–18 in *On the Art in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Irene Winter; Culture and history of the ancient Near East v. 34; Boston: Brill, 2010).

to the plot, such as all of the niceties surrounding depictions of architecture, weapons, costumes, ethnography, and beyond. Such intentional realism creates verisimilitude.<sup>91</sup>

One of the consequences of this stylistic feature is that the history of scholarship on the Column has been dominated by historicizing approaches that treat the images as eyewitness evidence to supplement inadequate historical sources. Such a purely historical approach was brought into question over the last half-century, however, as scholars began to notice efforts of schematization, artistry, and political ideology.<sup>92</sup> It is necessary to be aware of the reality effect created by such rhetoric, for the Column serves not as a neutral window into reality, but is actively engaged in constructing reality for viewers. To this point Sheila Dillon adds:

Certainly the overabundance of details and the level of specificity and precision in the depiction... help to substantiate and authenticate the veracity of the historical narratives. Designers of Roman historical reliefs certainly want us to take these images as objective (and inevitable) historical truth; the wealth of precise details... encourage us to do just that...<sup>93</sup>

As Stewart similarly recognizes, "The image of the emperor promoted in these sculptures was underpinned by documentary detail. Its ideological meanings are literally given verisimilitude by their realistic narrative context."<sup>94</sup> Lastly, regarding the Column's use of realism, Von Dippe comments:

<sup>91</sup> According to Stewart, this is the nature of representational art in general during this period. See Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 117. For a discussion of whether there was originally color on the Column and its contributions to the monument's reality effect, see M. Del Monte, P. Ausset, and R. A. Lefevre, "Traces of Ancient Colours on Trajan's Column," *ARCM Archaeometry* 40, no. 2 (1998): 403–12.

<sup>92</sup> The history of interpretation of the Column parallels history of interpretation of Acts. The Column was first seen as an annalistic history, providing an authentic account of the places and sequence of major events in the war. In 1920s, it was argued to have an extra-historical dimension as a piece of art and propaganda. Now the focus is more on analyzing it in terms of political ideology, message, and viewer reception. Many scholars in past generations and a number still even today have interpreted the realism in Acts as reflecting the veracity of its contents and its legitimacy as a historical source. For discussions of the historical value of Acts, see W.W. Gasque, "The Historical Value of Acts," *TynBul* 40, no. 1 (1989): 136–57; C. K. Barrett, "The Historicity of Acts," *JTS* 50, no. 2 (1999): 515–34.

<sup>93</sup> Sheila Dillon, *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 206. Kampen argues that between the rich detail and the great length of the frieze, one gets the impression that one is seeing "documentary reality." This is furthered, according to Kampen, partly by the repression of images of women, who are included in only eight of the 155 scenes, while the rest are filled with men. According to Kampen, the absence of women was intended to be seen as "natural," since war was thought of as "men's business," Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 53.

<sup>94</sup> Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 118.

The method chosen to magnify the [Roman] victory was to emphasize the historicity of the record, so that it would be accepted as a valid reason for praise. Contributing to this validation was adoption of the plain style of didactic rhetoric, together with a realistic account of the war that depends as much on grinding toil, craftsmanship, planning and dedication as it does on bravery in battle.<sup>95</sup>

In sum, the Column is not a passive monument, but actively constructs reality for its viewers through its use of a realist visual grammar in order to elicit praise from its viewer for the victory.

An example of a contrasting mode is the Great Trajanic Frieze, which features the emperor Trajan in two sequential scenes, depicted in the “Grand style,” following depictions of Hellenistic leaders. Although it is roughly contemporaneous with the Column and shares the continuous narrative form, the Frieze differs in many respects in mode of representation to show the diversity even within this same subgenre of Roman historical reliefs. Whereas the Column of Trajan is saturated with strategies of realism, the Great Trajanic Frieze makes no attempt to convince its viewers of the historicity of the events it depicts. Rather, it is constructed in the grand style that seeks to awe, amaze, and evoke reverence. The Column of Trajan, on the other hand, aimed at persuading its viewers that its contents represent an unmediated view of actual happenings involved in the two Dacian Wars.<sup>96</sup>

Admittedly, determining the historical value of the Column is problematized by a lack of additional sources with which it can be compared. What remains is a version of the war by Cassius Dio written over a hundred years after the event, and only preserved in an epitomized form in a manuscript dating to the eleventh century.<sup>97</sup> Because of this, it is difficult to determine what value the Column has as an historical source. What is clear, however, is that there are several features that are contrary to expectation of such an event. For instance, the legionary forces of the Roman army are predominantly depicted in various construction projects, rather than in battle, fighting against Dacian opponents. There is little doubt that such a depiction sought to present Roman legions in favorable light and as a way of representing Roman imperialism as a civilizing mission, especially in light of

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 423.

<sup>96</sup> Regarding the added sense of realism on the Column, see Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 29.

<sup>97</sup> On the effect of the realist visual grammar on scholarly opinions of the historicity of the account, see Brilliant, *Visual Narratives*, 100–1.

the clear superiority of Roman building materials and structures over and against the Dacians.<sup>98</sup>

While such realism pervades the Column, it is not to be regarded as a straightforward window into the ancient world.<sup>99</sup> As R. R. R. Smith has argued concerning the purpose of Rome's use of realism in its visual displays,

In spite of often-repeated warnings, it remains difficult for modern viewers not to look into ancient images and pictures as uncomplicated windows on to the ancient world, unproblematic reflections of what it was like. This was of course the aim of antiquity's realist visual grammar – to conceal highly structured, coded, often tendentious representations beneath an aura of truthful inevitability. Things were just like that.<sup>100</sup>

The real purpose of the Column is not to document the war, but to glorify its protagonist and represent Roman efforts in Dacia as a benevolent mission to civilize the barbarous territory.<sup>101</sup>

It is no coincidence that Acts too employs a verisimilar mode of narrative representation as it tells the story of Christian beginnings. Acts creates verisimilitude by texturing its discourse with a sense of realism through the heavy use of extraneous details. For instance, in the process of narrating the healing of the disabled man in Acts 3, the following details are given: it is 3 o'clock (3:1), the man was disabled from birth (3:2), and he was carried by others and sat before the temple gate called "Beautiful" (3:2). It is said that Peter looked intently at him (3:4), while the disabled man fixed his attention on Peter in return (3:5), so Peter took him by the right hand while his feet and ankles were made strong (3:6), and he jumped (3:7). These meticulous details serve to create verisimilitude and assert the veracity of the story. What is significant is that the narrative actually depends on such realism when it is appealed to in the [following chapter](#) in order to confirm the event and add

<sup>98</sup> Elizabeth Wolfram Thill, "Civilization Under Construction: Depictions of Architecture on the Column of Trajan," *AJA* 114, no. 1 (2010), 27–43.

<sup>99</sup> On the question of the Column as an historical source, as well as a consideration of the propagandistic influences of its narrative representation, see Richter, *Das römische Heer auf der Trajanssäule*, 420–31.

<sup>100</sup> R. R. R. Smith, "The Use of Images: Visual History and Ancient History," Pages 59–102 in *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome* (ed., T. P. Wiseman; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 79. Similarly, Kampen assesses the realist visual grammar in its ability to construct "truth." "The coalescence of the documentary, the mythological, and the ideological creates a political program that is constructed as Truth – temporally and geographically specific but also inevitable and timeless." Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 67.

<sup>101</sup> The Column's interest in shaping viewer's perspectives is a characteristic of Roman historical reliefs in general. See Smith, "The Use of Images: Visual History and Ancient History," 92.

even more details, namely that the man was forty years old (4:22). The effect of such a narrative mode of representation is that it makes the improbable seem probable by creating an added sense of veracity to the narrative.<sup>102</sup>

As strange as it may seem to modern sensibilities, the inclusion of the miraculous did not necessarily take away from an ancient readers' impression of a narrative's interest in realism.<sup>103</sup> Even on state art, where an interest in presenting the subject matter as plausibly as possible was of paramount importance, details of the miraculous and supernatural persisted. As mentioned above, both Danuvius and Jupiter make a cameo as the Romans move into Dacia.<sup>104</sup> By way of analogy, the occasional appearance of angels in Acts does not necessarily detract, at least by popular standards, from the narrative's interest in plausibility.<sup>105</sup> What is common in both of these texts is that the miraculous and/or supernatural take up a proportionate amount of the overall narratives.

Another one of the most commonly employed strategies by which Acts creates verisimilitude is the extensive use of toponyms. Toponyms are used in Acts to refer to a range of locales and are regularly used to articulate the ethnic variety of characters.<sup>106</sup> Barnabas is introduced as being from Cyprus (4:36), Paul is from Tarsus (9:11), Apollos is from Alexandria (18:24), Aquila is from Pontus (18:2), and Jesus is from Nazareth (2:22).<sup>107</sup> This rhetorical tactic, however, is not restricted to those belonging to "the Way." Certain "Jews" are said to have been Cretans, Arabs, Egyptians, etc.<sup>108</sup> In addition to these uses, toponyms are employed to refer to locations in Paul's travels. Often, these are used to indicate rather than narrate such stops and visits. As such, the highest number of toponyms are concentrated in those chapters that detail Paul's travels, with the highest number found in chapter 27:1ff. Loveday Alexander, in an attempt to explain Acts' extensive use of place-names, argues that they may "be used in a narrative to create an impression of geographical verisimilitude – the sense that the narrator (and hence the

<sup>102</sup> See Mitzi J. Smith, *The Literary Construction of the Other in the Acts of the Apostles: Charismatics, the Jews, and Women* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2012), 66. This point is further argued in the memorable words of Richard I. Pervo, "Luke Knows How to Make the Improbable Look Probable," in *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2009), 9, 11.

<sup>103</sup> Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 135. Cf. the Column of Marcus Aurelius's depiction of the rain miracle.

<sup>104</sup> For a discussion of this scene, see J. B. Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 156.

<sup>105</sup> For example, Acts 5:19; 8:26; 10:3; 12:7.

<sup>106</sup> 1:12; 3:2; 3:11; 5:12.

<sup>107</sup> 4:10; 4:36; 9:11; 18:24.

<sup>108</sup> For example, 2:9–11.

reader) was ‘really there.’”<sup>109</sup> In this respect, Alexander demonstrates that Acts parallels Xenophon (Alexander’s choice as a representative of the historical genre) more closely than it does Chariton (Alexander’s choice as a representative of the ancient romance novel). However, as Alexander argues, Acts possesses an even higher interest in the use of toponyms compared to both historical writings and the novels.

Juxtaposing Acts with the Column engenders new questions about the use of such a grammar of realism. Acts and Roman historical reliefs construct narratives that give the impression of documentary truth, yet in reality, both construct an image of the past that was deeply influenced by historical circumstances conditioning cultural production at the time of their composition. Both are self-consciously constructed representational media intended to transmit an ideology and persuade viewers toward their vision.<sup>110</sup>

### Encomiastic Rhetorical Style

The third and last stylistic parallel between Acts and the Column I shall discuss is the use of an encomiastic rhetorical style. While the combination of continuous narrative and realism on both the Column and Acts provides an illusion of reality, they are both ultimately driven by a similar end – constructing a rhetoric of praise.<sup>111</sup> An important stylistic parallel between Acts and the Column is the common use of encomium, which was a part of epideictic oratory concerned with praising subjects in such a way so as to inspire imitation. It served in classical rhetoric to commend subjects and

<sup>109</sup> Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 115.

<sup>110</sup> Richard Brilliant once argued concerning Roman art and Roman imperial policy that “propaganda is not used, merely, to create a favourable climate of belief or opinion; it is used to channel the energies of the public exposed to it and repeatedly – a public whose beliefs are conditioned by propaganda so that they will act in concert in some desired manner, that is a manner or direction useful to the creators and disseminators of that propaganda.” Richard Brilliant, *Commentaries on Roman Art: Selected Studies* (London: Pindar Press, 1994), 373. As Stewart argues concerning this point, “We have seen repeatedly how various kinds of Roman art were used as instruments, working in society to achieve particular ends... we have seen how works of art embodied and perhaps reinforced ideological assumptions about how society was structured and which values it should enshrine... we shall examine the power of works of art to affect people’s feelings and behaviour, even to prompt them to acts of violence.” Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 108. For a broader discussion of political propaganda in classical antiquity, see K. A. E. Enenkel and Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer, eds., *The Manipulative Mode: Political Propaganda in Antiquity: A Collection of Case Studies* (Boston: Brill, 2005).

<sup>111</sup> On the relationship between realism and encomium, see Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, 42.

elevate them to the level of examples.<sup>112</sup> The common use of encomiastic rhetoric to extol their protagonists puts the Column and Acts more in the realm of panegyric than historical documentary. They serve to exalt their protagonists as exemplary men who serve as paragons of virtue. Historical figures then would serve to model for readers the ideal character of the state and individuals.<sup>113</sup>

Depictions of Trajan and the army on the Column are designed, not only to characterize Roman military efforts, but also to inspire emulation among civilian viewers. These images symbolize what it means to be a good Roman male leader, especially in terms of piety and fortitude.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, the book of Acts devotes much attention to depicting Paul as a paragon of many of the same virtues esteemed in the reliefs in order to explicate his office as a deserving provincial leader of imperial society.<sup>115</sup> Paul's vision on the road to Damascus plays a pivotal role in the development of his character within Acts: here he is transformed from being "furiously enraged" (26:11) all the time to being quite lucid and sober minded post-Damascus – and thus a good example, which others can imitate.<sup>116</sup>

Penner analyzes Stephen's martyrdom (Acts 6:1–8:3) in light of Luke's apologetic interests and Greco-Roman historiography, which has provided a critical contribution to the field by situating Acts within the broader discursive world of ancient historians, and in explicating what Penner refers to as the "sociocultural, rhetorical, and ideological texture of their historiographical world."<sup>117</sup> He demonstrates how history writing during the Roman period reflects a heightened interest in moral and epideictic qualities, the type that concerned itself with praise and blame, encomium and invective. In support of this, he cites several examples, including that of Cicero who asks to what branch of rhetoric – epideictic, judicial, or deliberative – history belongs. Cicero argued that epideictic was the most appropriate type of rhetoric to classify history. Certainly not all historians held this same view, nor does all of history during the Roman period fit comfortably within this category. Rather, what emerges is a sense that history was generally thought

<sup>112</sup> For example, Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* 91.1, 95.4.

<sup>113</sup> Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 128.

<sup>114</sup> For a discussion of encomium and monuments, see Paul A. Roche, "The *Panegyricus* and the monuments of Rome." Pages 45–66 in *Pliny's Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World* (ed. Paul A. Roche; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 41. See *ibid.*, 105 for a discussion on the relationship between encomium and monuments.

<sup>115</sup> John Clayton Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul* (Society for New Testament Studies 77; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>116</sup> See [Chapter 3](#) for an extended discussion on this topic.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.



to teach virtue by example. Historical figures then would serve to model for readers the ideal character of the state and individuals.<sup>118</sup> From the Roman perspective, therefore, history was the basis for mimesis. As Penner extends these observations in his analysis of the Stephen episode, he argues:

[A]side from advancing the plot connections and adding to the complete narrative, Luke also uses the Stephen account to elaborate and amplify the epideictic themes of his composition. In particular, Luke utilizes the compositional technique of *synkrisis* to draw the newly formed *politeia* founded by Jesus into comparison with the Jewish *politeia*, used as a foil to enhance the praiseworthy features of the nascent Christian movement attested in 6:1–7. Thus, Stephen is contrasted with his adversaries, and the conclusion is that the former is truly law-abiding and righteous while the latter are depicted as his mirror opposites.<sup>119</sup>

Similarly, John Clayton Lentz approaches the last eight chapters of Acts from the perspective of how the trial scenes serve to explicate Paul's social status and virtuous character.<sup>120</sup> For instance, in 22:28, Paul's own inherited citizenship is compared to the tribune's own purchased citizenship.<sup>121</sup> There is a clear strategy in Acts to compare Paul with other actors in order to make implicit judgments on their character.

On both the Column and in Acts, encomiastic rhetorical style worked in tandem with, not independent of, the grammar of realism in creating a rich narrative effect. At the same time as history writing served to praise and blame its subjects, there was a heightened expectancy and standard for narrative plausibility. Concerning the relationship between encomium and history, Todd Penner writes, "within a rhetorically saturated culture, only a plausible narrative had such value, and thus the historian was implored to refrain from extreme and overt panegyric – wherein the details were not 'objective' but determined by the bias of the historian – as this detracted from the profitability of the narrative."<sup>122</sup> Thus, the very utility of narratives as encomiastic productions depended on their overall credibility. Acts', as well as the Column's, own combination of encomium and realism is certainly reflective of these broader historiographical patterns.

<sup>118</sup> Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 128.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

<sup>120</sup> Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 67.

<sup>121</sup> Other points of comparison include 21:38; 22:28; 24:25.

<sup>122</sup> Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins*, 128.

In sum, Acts has capitalized on a particular rhetorical form that carried a certain cultural currency in which those ambitious for social power could capitalize on in their own self-fashioning.<sup>123</sup> As Peter Holliday argues concerning the Roman period, “Style itself was capable of holding political significance.”<sup>124</sup> As such, style itself could serve as a cultural capital one could exploit in order to lay claim to social power. Public monuments concretized the very representational modes and standards ambitious persons could appropriate in representing their individual and/or collective identities and asserting their place within the wider world.<sup>125</sup> The narrative aesthetics of Acts were very much a product of the cultural history of the Roman Empire and served early Christian interests in asserting their own place in imperial society at a particular point in history. By paying attention to the Column, one can learn a lot about the *manner* in which Luke seeks to sculpt Christian identity through the creative shaping of the inherited tradition. In this sense Acts serves as a mediator between social ambition and political ideals as it constructs a public image of its protagonists that is in accordance with the moral, aesthetic, social, and cultural imperatives of society.<sup>126</sup> The particular narrative mode chosen to express this was an integral element in this construction.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>123</sup> This concept comes from what Bourdieu calls “cultural capital,” which is a practice by which aspiring persons employ their acquired knowledge and sophistication as a kind of social commodity. Holliday uses this concept with regard to the use of different styles in Roman elite self-representation. See Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration*, 195.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

<sup>125</sup> For an example of this phenomenon during the reign of Augustus, see Mario Torelli, *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 134, who analyzes the *Ara Pacis* in terms of how it changed the structure and language by which subjects represented their own status. See also Kathleen Lamp, “The Ara Pacis Augustae: Visual Rhetoric in Augustus’ Principate,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (2009): 1–24.

<sup>126</sup> Here, I am drawn to the perspective of Woolf who argues for the importance of writing and monuments in defining identities, “Writing, I suggest then, was important in Roman monuments, because words were the only images precise enough to convey the complex names and relationships that defined the identities of individual Romans. With the expansion and complexification of Roman society, the need to define identities precisely became increasingly important.” Woolf, “Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire,” 28–29.

<sup>127</sup> See Von Dippé, “Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative,” 28, for a similar argument for visual narratives. Luke capitalized on a particular rhetorical form in presenting his narrative. In this sense, the text of Acts serves as a mediator between social ambition and political ideals. Interests in acquiring and perpetuating honor and status could be governing principles in determining style. Whitmarsh has argued that “it is undesirable to consider literary aesthetics in isolation from the circuits of power.” Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), vii.

### Conclusion: The Book of Acts as an Apostolic Monument

Although the Book of Acts has been regularly received as a clear, unmediated window into the early happenings and heroes of the early church, it is the end product of a long series of representational choices. Since stylistic options are nearly infinite in any given era, *how* a text presents its subject is often of grave consequence, with the chosen form serving as an integral part of the overall message it wished to convey and influencing how it was received. Thus, this chapter has inquired of the very method Acts employs to propagate memories of the apostles. It was argued that both Acts and the Column share three of their most defining stylistic features, including a dramatic continuous narrative format, a heightened sense of realism, and an encomiastic rhetorical style. In addition, both share similar purposes in glorifying the memories, perpetuating the honor, and constructing the status of their protagonists. Given that these two “texts” stand in parallel in both form and function, it is incumbent on us to acknowledge how deeply Acts’ stylistic choices are tied to the text’s political context, in so far as its narrative style conforms to the representational mode and standards developing at the period. Future approaches to questions concerning the genre of Acts will only benefit from broadening the horizon in which one looks for analogous traits and takes into consideration the multimedia context of the Roman world and the free exchange between different media. Reading the book of Acts in connection with the Column’s own visual display helps situate Acts’ heroic idealization of the past as a historically embedded cultural performance that emerges from the very material and discursive world within which it was composed.

## IMPERIAL VIRTUES AND PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

CHAPTER 2, FOCUSING ON THE IMPACT IMPERIAL IDEALS HAD ON provincial self-fashioning, will analyze Roman imperial trends of representation circulating during the reign of Trajan. In the first two decades of the second century, representations and perceptions of the emperor experienced a dramatic shift as the *princeps* began to play even more of a paradigmatic role as an exemplar for society as a whole. The impact of this shift will be traced through the Italian and provincial epigraphic records and the honorific terminology used to celebrate local aristocrats, which drew directly from the language of imperial virtues. This chapter will show how the public image of Trajan functioned as a moral exemplar and served as an essential model for the euergetism of local aristocrats in Asia Minor in the early second century. Through this intentional semantic overlap, provincial notables modeled their own authority on that of Trajan and represented themselves as local versions of the Roman emperor, sharing his particular virtues. Trajan was regarded as the grand patron who sat at the center of a vast network of patronage, who exercised his paradigmatic generosity through the dispensation of benefactions across the entire *oikoumené*. Consequently, there was a striking proliferation of representations of acts of euergetism in the eastern empire (the same geographical area of Paul's own mission in Acts) at this time that was unmatched in the period before and after. While this was not the only period in which acts of euergetism were publicly commemorated, this study attests to the amplification of such discourses, their identification with Trajan, and the heightened premium they held for provincial representation in the early part of the second century.

### The Emperor in the Roman World

The advent of the monarchy was a decisive moment in shaping not only the political, but also the cultural life of the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> The installation of an emperor provided a new unifying symbol for otherwise geographically far-flung territories. There were no other symbols of equal distinction and geographical reach.<sup>2</sup> As a symbol, the emperor helped to universalize Roman imperial claims and legitimate the particular social order upon which the state rested, which together provided a new level of ideological unification for an otherwise fragmented empire.<sup>3</sup> The combination of literary references and the material record convey the impression that images of Roman emperors were nearly ubiquitous. The emperor was represented visually in public through monuments and statues erected in cities of varying sizes across the empire.<sup>4</sup> Coins were minted carrying imperial images and circulated to all corners of the empire.<sup>5</sup> Monumental structures, such as temples, libraries, and other complexes, invoked ideas about the emperor, whether or not they were used for purposes associated with the so called imperial cult.<sup>6</sup> Epigraphic texts proliferated during the imperial period and often carried the names of emperors, as well as their special titles, records of achievements, and virtues.<sup>7</sup> Imperial travels also served as a medium for advertising ideas about the emperor, and afforded

<sup>1</sup> Several studies have proposed that the emperor was central both to the political system and the cultural fabric of the Roman empire, as both an actor and a symbol. See Carlos F. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5; Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC–AD 337)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 363–464; Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. See Wallace-Hadrill for a review of scholarship on the Roman emperor by modern historians. “Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King,” *JRS* 72 (1982): 32.

<sup>4</sup> Harriet I. Flower, “A Tale of Two Monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and Some Praetorians at Puteoli (AE 1973, 137),” *AJA* 105, no. 4 (2001): 625–48.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World* (London: Seaby, 1987); R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990). For a discussion of Trajanic coins and chronological developments, see Wolfram Weiser, “Kaiserliche Publizistik in Kleinformat: Die Münzen der Epoche des Kaiser Traian.” Pages 145–62 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Robin Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1996); Björn C. Ewald and Carlos Noreña, *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Amanda Claridge, “Hadrian’s Lost Temple of Trajan,” *JRA* 20 (2007): 54.

<sup>7</sup> J. M. Højte, “Imperial Visits as Occasion for the Erection of Portrait Statues?” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* no. 133 (2000): 221–35.

subjects the opportunity to view their ruler in person.<sup>8</sup> In domestic contexts, a variety of small-scale objects carried images of the emperor, such as seals, mirrors, lamps, medallions, and gems.<sup>9</sup> Beyond the visual remains, reference to the emperor in the dating of events and documents is also well attested. Through the wide diffusion of images of the emperor in a variety of media, the monarchy transformed public space and constructed the emperor as omnipresent in almost every part of public and private life.<sup>10</sup>

Much of this material production took place in Rome, beginning during the reign of Augustus, a time when a centralized program was conceived directed toward unifying the empire.<sup>11</sup> Simple top-down models, however, are no longer exclusively used to conceptualize the process.<sup>12</sup> Provincials also actively participated in the creation of this system.<sup>13</sup> Ideas about Rome and her empire were by no means only imposed from Rome to the provinces, but very much the product of provincials and their cities seeking to engage in competition for the favor and attention of their government.<sup>14</sup> Together, Romans and provincials constructed the emperor as standing at the center of the known world and of holding supreme significance.

The ubiquity of the emperors' image would have helped keep the idea of the emperor in the collective consciousness of his subjects, indelibly impacting the cultural life of the empire.<sup>15</sup>

While the symbol of the emperor could be put to several different uses by different actors, one of the primary ways the Roman emperor served as a symbol for subjects was as a moral exemplar.<sup>16</sup> There was a robust discursive tradition of celebrating the superior qualities of rulers that stretched from

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 14–15.

<sup>10</sup> Gunnar Seelentag, "Imperial Representation and Reciprocity: The Case of Trajan," *The Classical Journal* 107, no. 1 (2011): 73–97.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," *JRS* 76 (1986): 66–87; Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1–22; Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 19–48.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Classics and Contemporary Thought 6. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> Yanir Shochat, "The Change in the Roman Religion at the Time of the Emperor Trajan," *Lato Latomus* 44, no. 2 (1985): 317–36.

<sup>16</sup> M. P. Charlesworth, *The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief* (The Raleigh Lecture on History, British Academy; London: Humphrey Milford, 1937).

Isocrates and Xenophon in the fourth century BCE well into the third century CE in the philosophical schools.<sup>17</sup> The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* is a prime example that dates to the advent of the monarchy.<sup>18</sup> The result of all of this is that it made the emperor's virtues a part of public discourse and placed a high premium on the imperial character itself.<sup>19</sup> As Carlos Noreña argues, "Roman emperors did not always live up to these ideals, of course, but the insistent celebration of imperial virtues by aristocratic writers, and the equally insistent commemoration of these virtues by the imperial regime, gave a pronounced ethical thrust to public discourse in the Roman empire, and conditioned the manner in which aristocratic Romans, including the emperor, understood the nature and ends of political power."<sup>20</sup>

While the idea of Roman imperial exemplarity had been present since the time of Augustus, this conception of the emperor reaches new heights during the reign of Trajan.<sup>21</sup> Trajan was represented as one of the supreme moral exemplars by imperial subjects. In Pliny's *Panegyricus*, over thirty virtues are ascribed to the emperor.<sup>22</sup> As Paul Roche argues, "His [Pliny's] innovation in terms of political thought is not at issue. But the fragmenting of these into an unprecedented array of properties and the heaping of them onto the emperor in (as far as we can see) unparalleled quantity is both a significant reflection of Pliny's rhetorical agenda and strategy in the *Panegyricus*, and a powerful index of the public centralization of all virtuous behaviours into the person of the emperor."<sup>23</sup> Pliny explicitly talks about Trajan serving

<sup>17</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 53–54.

<sup>18</sup> Kathleen Lamp, "The Ara Pacis Augustae: Visual Rhetoric in Augustus' Principate," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (2009): 1–24; Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 21.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 57; Paul Veyne, "What Was a Roman Emperor? Emperor, Therefore a God," *Diogenes* no. 199 (2003): 3–22.

<sup>20</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 57.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Civis Princeps," 47; Carlos F. Noreña, "The Communication of the Emperor's Virtues," *JRS* (2001): 146–68. See the following for a discussion of Trajan's ascension to the throne: Andrew Berriman and Malcom Todd, "A Very Roman Coup: The Hidden War of Imperial Succession, AD 96–8," *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 50, no. 3 (2001): 312–31. For a concise survey on the political circumstances revolving around Trajan's ascension to the throne, see Werner Eck, "Traian – Der Weg zum Kaisertum." Pages 7–20 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002). On the revival of Augustan values, see Alain M. Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 102–31.

<sup>22</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 37; Roger Rees, "To Be and Not to Be: Pliny's Paradoxical Trajan," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 45, no. 1 (2001): 149–68.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Roche, "Pliny's Thanksgiving: An Introduction to the *Panegyricus*." Pages 1–28 in *Pliny's Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World* (ed. Paul Roche; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 10.



as a model for others on multiple occasions (*Panegyricus* 36.1, 56.1, 91.1, 95.4). Repeatedly, Pliny refers to Trajan as “*optimus*,” which is the superlative form of the adjective *bonus* (“good”) and means “best.”<sup>24</sup> The term implies moral excellence when applied to a person and has strong philosophical and ethical undertones.<sup>25</sup> It is evocative of the Ciceronian notion of “the good man” (*vir bonus*). Such honorific terminology was indicative of a broader conceptual shift of the emperor as a model for society, in contrast with *dominus*, a title Trajan regularly refused, which expressed domination.<sup>26</sup> An individual who was described as *optimus* was also an exemplar by definition.<sup>27</sup> It was in this sense that Trajan fulfilled his duty as the *civilis princeps*, which was a conception of the emperor whereby he was regarded as a model for the entire citizen body.<sup>28</sup>

The specific qualities that are attributed to any given emperor are significant, for they can provide a means of tracking the changing currents of imperial ideology and help us assess the variable resonance of the virtues themselves at any given period.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it is significant that there was a dramatic fluctuation in the honorific terms that appear during Trajan’s reign, even if it was ephemeral. This stands in contrast to the slower-moving changes in much of the more traditional honorific terminology of the period. The evidence shows, however, that this is not reducible to mere terminological fluctuation, but a rather critical transformation in representational trends between the Flavian dynasty and the High Empire. This study

<sup>24</sup> The use of the term *optimus* was officially incorporated into Trajan’s titulature as *optimus princeps* between 114 and 117. The title appears on coins from 103, but it is not until 114 that this becomes a standard acclamation of the emperor.

<sup>25</sup> Gunnar Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians: Herrschaftsdarstellung Im Principat* (Hermes Bd. 91; Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 240–47.

<sup>26</sup> Trajan’s refusal of this title does not prevent Pliny from addressing Trajan as “*Domine*” in his letters of correspondence. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 287, 291–92.

<sup>27</sup> As Noreña argues, “In his *Panegyricus*, Pliny weaves the ideal of the *optimus princeps* throughout the speech. Not only does he repeatedly refer to Trajan as *optimus princeps*... he also offers a short lecture on the meaning of the term *optimus* and explains why it applies especially to Trajan (*Pan.* 88; cf. 2.7). And Pliny, like Velleius, can be explicit about the emperor’s paradigmatic role: ‘for we do not need power [sc. over us] so much as an example. Indeed, fear is an unreliable teacher of what is right. Men learn better from examples. In fact, the idea of imperial exemplarity was present right from the very advent of monarchy at Rome, and can be found stated clearly in the *Res Gestae*.’ *Ibid.*, 289. See Seelentag for a methodology that considers the role and class of the different audiences in the construction of the imperial image, especially the senate, plebs, and the military. Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 14–26.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Pliny’s *Pan.* 2.4. See Wallace-Hadrill on the importance of this image of the emperor for society as a whole, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “*Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King*,” *JRS* 72 (1982): 47.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–38.

is not interested in cataloguing all of the different virtues attributed to Trajan. Rather, it is interested in determining which of these virtues were singled out and emphasized beyond all others.<sup>30</sup>

The following section will explore the particular ways in which Trajan served as a paradigmatic figure in the Roman world, specifically, how he became the primary paradigm of generosity in the first two decades of the second century. In turn, it will be shown that there was a proliferation of representations of provincial munificence during this period, which was inspired by the imperial example of the emperor as the great public benefactor.

### Trajanic *Indulgentia*

Hannah Cotton argues in her insightful study on the concept of *indulgentia* (“generosity”) during the imperial period that it was not until the reign of Trajan that the term, and others similarly used to express the emperor’s supreme generosity, first became established in the ideology of the principate.<sup>31</sup> Although *indulgentia* has a fairly wide semantic range and may be translated as “generosity,” “lenience,” or “indulgence,” it is primarily used to refer to “the natural affection and emotion which the parent feels towards a child.”<sup>32</sup> Instead of simply referring to individual qualities, *indulgentia* refers to an entire disposition of one who acts as a parent. In association with the Roman emperor Trajan, it signaled his role as a paradigmatic paternal figure whose parental *indulgentia* demanded the filial *pietas* of subjects.<sup>33</sup> As Noreña explains, “*indulgentia* was construed as a virtue to which imperial *beneficia* could be ascribed, from *alimenta* programs and patronage of the arts to the remission of debts owed to the treasury and the abolition of judicial sentences. Numerous texts make it clear that the concrete favors bestowed by the emperor were thought to flow directly from his *indulgentia* and other personal qualities.”<sup>34</sup> Noreña cites the Trajanic jurist Iavolenus Priscus as an example of how intimately tied imperial virtue was to imperial favor: “we ought to interpret a favor of the emperor [Trajan] as amply as possible, since it comes from his divine *indulgentia*.”<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus, ed. *Trajan. Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>31</sup> While the term is used in the brief reign of Nerva, it is fully incorporated into the ideology of the principate during the reign of Trajan.

<sup>32</sup> Hannah Cotton, “The Concept of *Indulgentia* under Trajan,” *Chiron* xiv (1984): 262; Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 281.

<sup>33</sup> Cotton, “The Concept of *Indulgentia* under Trajan,” 262; Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 281.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

In Pliny's epistolary correspondence with Trajan, the term *indulgentia* is abundant.<sup>36</sup> This is not surprising considering Pliny's tendency to faithfully reflect the currents of his day and the general predilection felt for the term.<sup>37</sup> The term is used in a variety of contexts, especially to define the relationship between the emperor and Italian provincial communities.<sup>38</sup> For instance, the term is used to refer to the *Institutio Alimentaria* ("Institution for the distribution of provisions to the poor"), a social program that provided monthly support to several hundred thousand boys and girls across Italy.<sup>39</sup>

The emergence of *indulgentia* as an official term at this time was the product of the imperial regime emphasizing its own imperial paternalism.<sup>40</sup> The emperor was presented as a benevolent ruler whose *indulgentia* made him accessible to subjects who were welcome to make requests they otherwise had no right to make.<sup>41</sup> The most anyone could do was to trust in the emperor's generosity in making their appeals. The emperor magnanimously gave to his subjects, not because they deserved it, but because of his own *indulgentia*. This created what Cotton defines as an "*indulgentia-pietas* bond between the paternal *princeps* and his subjects [which] excludes a relationship of reciprocity: it is the extinction of *amicitia* – in the old sense – between him and his subjects. The omnipotent *princeps* who monopolises all *beneficia* doles them out to his subjects, not for a return in kind, which the latter cannot dream of ever being able to make, but in return for *pietas*, and this perforce makes the beneficiary an inferior."<sup>42</sup> Because of the emperor's magnanimity, he stood closer to the gods than to his peers, as

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of Pliny's pre-Bithynian correspondence, see Carlos Noreña, "The Social Economy of Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan," *American Journal of Philology* 128, no. 2 (2007): 242.

<sup>37</sup> Cotton, "The Concept of Indulgentia under Trajan," 262; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

<sup>38</sup> As Cotton further points out, "The emperor's *indulgentia* is also invoked in the context of the status of cities. Amisus in Pontus is a city both *libera* and *foederata*, and owing to the *beneficium indulgentiae tuae*, as Pliny tells Trajan, it enjoys the use of its own laws (X, 92). In his reply (X, 93), Trajan puts it slightly differently: it is owing to the *beneficium foederis* that Amisus enjoys the use of its own laws. It is likely that Pliny is speaking loosely, referring all privileges to the *indulgentia* of the living emperor. Trajan's rephrasing of Pliny's words shows that even if he is aware of Pliny's implied flattery, nevertheless he prefers to emphasize the objective legal situation." Cotton, "The Concept of Indulgentia under Trajan," 257.

<sup>39</sup> The program was funded by the interest accrued from loans Trajan provided to landowners. CIL XI 1147; IX 1455. Martin Goodman, *Roman World 44BC–180AD* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 194.

<sup>40</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 263.

<sup>41</sup> Seelentag, "Imperial Representation and Reciprocity," 83.

<sup>42</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 266.

he assumed the role of *parens* over his subjects.<sup>43</sup> As Fergus Millar argues in support of Cotton's study, "however successfully Trajan lived up to the model of the *civilis princeps* (a princeps who behaves like a citizen), as he clearly did, it is very striking... that almost every one of Pliny's letters uses the words 'to indulge' (*indulgere*) or 'indulgence' (*indulgentia*). That is to say, vis-à-vis the Emperor, even a high-placed senator like Pliny adopted the rhetorical posture of a humble petitioner."<sup>44</sup>

This paternal conception of the emperor became an amplified discourse that found expression in other related terms. For example, it is no coincidence that this is also a formative period for the concept of *liberalitas* ("liberality") in imperial rhetoric.<sup>45</sup> As Noreña argues, "it is in the epigraphic record that the virtue of *liberalitas* first crops up, in official inscriptions set up under Trajan, and only later, under Hadrian, that it appears as a coin type."<sup>46</sup> The term is also prominent in texts such as Pliny's *Panegyricus*, where it appears over a dozen times, as well as on several surviving inscriptions dedicated to Trajan.<sup>47</sup> Due to the prevalence of additional terms that overlap in meaning with *indulgentia*, there is good reason to believe in the rootedness of the concept in the consciousness of the age.

Roman emperors were regularly presented as great public benefactors to their subjects. The importance of this theme in imperial representations is illustrated by its prevalence in public inscriptions, Suetonius's biographies, and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, to give just a few examples. This was especially true in Rome where the *princeps* actively pursued programs to satisfy the needs and desires of the urban plebs, which involved a number of strategies from grain distribution to construction projects to the funding of elaborate spectacles.<sup>48</sup> Public works performed by emperors were understood within the framework of imperial *indulgentia*, *liberalitas*, and *munificentia*,

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 266. For a discussion on how Trajan postured himself with regard to the gods, see Daniel N. Schowalter, *The Emperor and the Gods: Images from the Time of Trajan* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993).

<sup>44</sup> Fergus Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East: Volume 2: Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire* (eds. Hannah Cotton and Guy Rogers, Vol. 2; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 32.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 262; C. E. Manning, "Liberalitas: The Decline and Rehabilitation of a Virtue," *Greece and Rome* 32, no. 1 (1985): 73.

<sup>46</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 235.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 87–88. Noreña goes on to explain "In this dedication, the symbolic relationship between the emperor, the supreme benefactor, and the urban plebs of Rome, expressing itself here in corporate terms through the institution of the 35 tribes, is celebrated both by the emperor's benefaction and by the virtue that motivated it, his personal generosity," *ibid.*, 223.

<sup>48</sup> See section below.

which were considered overlapping virtues that emperors were obligated to exercise as an intricate part of the political system of the principate.

Generous acts, which were seen as contributing to the cultural sphere of Rome and the provinces, served as representations of imperial *indulgentia*.<sup>49</sup> This can be illustrated by imperial milestones of the Trajanic period. Milestones were a common feature along roads in Italy and the provinces and often contained official inscriptions referring to emperors in honorific terminology.<sup>50</sup> It is not until Trajan, however, that we get *multiple* official inscriptions on such milestones that contain honorific terminology.<sup>51</sup> This is significant because it provides a perspective on various ways a single emperor could be honored. The majority of Trajanic milestones draw on the language and ideology of civic benefaction. On two of these inscriptions from Rome, Trajan is hailed “enricher of the citizens” and “most generous.”<sup>52</sup> In another, Trajan’s expansion of the seating at the Circus Maximus is attributed to his *liberalitas*:

To the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, son of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in the seventh year of the tribunician power, with four imperatorial acclamations, consul five time, father of the fatherland, the 35 tribes (have dedicated this), since, by the *liberalitas* of the best emperor, their perks have been enhanced by the expansion of seats.<sup>53</sup>

This served as a dedicatory inscription found on a statue in honor of Trajan and explicitly links the restoration of Circus Maximus to Trajan’s personal *liberalitas* and was promoted as a significant public gesture.<sup>54</sup> In Pliny’s description of the Circus, he notes how it is now worthy of the Roman people as

<sup>49</sup> Paul Zanker, “By the Emperor, for the People: ‘Popular’ Architecture in Rome.” Pages 45–88 in *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (eds. Björn Ewald and Carlos Noreña; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>50</sup> Concerning the strategy of building roads to advertise the emperor’s impressive resources, see Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 148, referencing Cassius Dio 68.7.1.

<sup>51</sup> In the words of Mary Boatwright, these milestones were “unusually expressive.” See Mary T. Boatwright, “Trajan Outside Rome: Construction and Embellishment in Italy and the Provinces.” Pages 259–77 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)* (eds. Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 265–66.

<sup>52</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 223–24.

<sup>53</sup> *ILS* 286; *ibid.*, 223–24; cf. Cassius Dio 68.7.2.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Roche, “The Panegyricus and the Monuments of Rome.” Pages 45–66 in *Pliny’s Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World* (ed. Paul Roche; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 55.

conquerors of the world.<sup>55</sup> As Gunnar Seelentag argues, Markets of Trajan, beyond their practical function, would have also been seen as a symbol of imperial *liberalitas*.<sup>56</sup>

What is striking is that references to the imperial *indulgentia* and *liberalitas* emerge simultaneously in official and nonofficial sources during the years spanning Trajan's reign, including legal writings, imperial proclamations, dedicatory inscriptions, and more.<sup>57</sup> This lexical correspondence is indicative of a wide circulation of this conception of Trajan.<sup>58</sup> From the perspective of Cotton, this is not simply a coincidence of transmission, but an indicator of broader currents in imperial ideology, which can help us assess the variable resonance of the concept at this time. Pliny the Younger argues that the emperor is guaranteed an eternal legacy, not by the physical monuments he leaves behind, but by the nature of his reputation. As Pliny puts it,

And knowing your wisdom as I do, I find it less remarkable that you set aside or limit those titles which are mortal and must perish; for you know where lies the true, eternal glory of a prince. Therein are the honours over which devouring flames, passage of time, the hands of a successor have no power. Arches and statues, event altars and temples must all decay, to be lost in oblivion, for posterity to neglect or revile; in contrast, a spirit which is above ambition, which can hold in check the temptations of power unbounded, blossoms as the years go by and hears its praise most often on the lips of those who are least forced to sing it. Moreover, an emperor is no sooner elected than his fame is assured for all time, for better or worse; he need not seek a lasting reputation (it will last in spite of him) but a good one: and this is preserved not in portraits and statues *but in virtue and good deeds*. His form and features too, so short-lived as they are, are not so well expressed in silver and gold as by his people's love. That happy fortune is yours to enjoy, in every way you could desire, for your radiant face and beloved countenance dwell in the words, the looks, the thoughts of all your subjects.<sup>59</sup>

In the course of celebrating the emperor's Dacian campaigns, the Column of Trajan also depicts numerous instances of imperial generosity.

<sup>55</sup> Pliny's *Pan.* 51.3.

<sup>56</sup> Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 400.

<sup>57</sup> David Johnston, "Munificence and Municipia: Bequests to Towns in Classical Roman Law," *JRS* 75 (1985): 105–25.

<sup>58</sup> As Cotton notes, "Unfortunately, due to the hazards of transmission, it is not possible to explain the emergence of *indulgentia* at this time with any degree of certainty to contemporary events and intellectual currents, such as the emperor's return from the Dacian wars or the passing of a new edict." Cotton, "The Concept of *Indulgentia* under Trajan," 246.

<sup>59</sup> Pliny, *Pan.* 55.8–12. See Roche, "The Panegyricus and the Monuments of Rome," 52.



9. Scene XLIII: Auxiliary soldier carrying a sack of rewards he received from Trajan.

Trajan's *liberalitas* is envisaged as he appears in the center of scene XLIII sitting on a sella distributing *beneficia* to auxiliaries. One of the recipients of his generosity leans forward to kiss Trajan's hand, while the other walks away with his reward draped over his shoulder. Two additional men appear to embrace each other in the bottom left, while others stand applauding the emperor's generosity in the bottom right (scene XLIII; see [Figure 9](#)).

Not too long after this, as legionaries continue to build stonewalls and dig trenches, a Dacian bows with his arms (now missing) stretched toward Trajan as the emperor consults with his officers about whether clemency should be granted (scene LXI). Two additional Dacian envoys follow where an elderly Dacian bows his head to kiss Trajan's hand for the mercy he alone imparts. Meanwhile, legionaries work tirelessly to construct a stonewall and haul dirt to extend Trajan's generosity to the Dacians in the form of Roman-style constructions (scenes LXV–LXVI).

At the end of the war, Trajan is depicted seated on a podium and surrounded by troops, standard-bearers, and officers while three Dacians surrender – two kneel at Trajan's feet and the third raises his hands toward the sky in gratitude for Trajan's generosity and pardon (scene LXXV; see [Figure 10](#)). As Patricia Trutty-Coohill notes, “in its cinematographic





10. Scene LXXV: Trajan surrounded by three Dacians at his feet.

technique, [the Column envisages] an unending succession of generous acts.”<sup>60</sup>

### Trajanic Discourses of *Imperium*

The heightened emphasis on the emperor Trajan’s generosity and its increased association with and seeming monopolization by the imperial regime is a major emphasis of the Trajanic period and developed in tandem with a new conception of the *imperium* where the emphasis was on the tangible benefits the emperor provides for his subjects and the international network of patronage that he stood in the center of, which extended from Rome to the provinces.<sup>61</sup> Pliny reflects this reigning ideology in his *Panegyricus*:

I turn now to the abundance of the grain-supply (*adfluentia annonae*), equal, in my view, to a permanent cash handout. It was this that once brought Pompey

<sup>60</sup> Patricia Trutty-Coochill, “On Generosity East and West: The Beauty of Comparison.” Pages 17–32 in *Sharing Poetic Expressions: Beauty, Sublime, Mysticism in Islamic and Occidental Culture* (ed. Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka; New York: Springer, 2011), 19.

<sup>61</sup> For a discussion of visual images from the reign of Trajan, see Tonio Hölscher, “Bilder der Macht und Herrschaft,” in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002), 127–44.

no less honor than when he banished bribery from the elections, drove the pirates from the sea, and illuminated West and East with his triumphs. Nor was Pompey more civic-minded than our Father, who, by his influence, wisdom, and good faith has opened roads that were closed, constructed harbors, created overland routes, brought the sea to the shores and the shores to the sea, and has integrated diverse peoples in trade to such an extent that local products seem to belong to everyone. Is it not clear that every year abounds in the things we need without any harm done to anyone? Harvests are not stolen as if from foreign lands to rot in our granaries while our allies wait in vain. They themselves bring whatever their soil produces, whatever their climate nourishes, whatever the year brings; nor, weighed down by new exactions, do they come up short on their regular taxes. And the imperial treasury makes its purchases openly. The result is this abundance (*copiae*), this grain-supply that benefits both buyer and seller, this plenty (*satietas*) here (sc. in Rome), and the absence of hunger anywhere.<sup>62</sup>

The degree to which Pliny attributes the benefits of empire to the individual role of Trajan himself is striking. The emperor's public image was officially propagated and communicated ideas not only about the emperor and the inhabitants of Rome, but the entire empire under his administration. The beneficiaries of the imperial system are perceived as the inhabitants of Rome, as well as the provinces, which is striking in the context of a consular speech at Rome celebrating the *annona*, a benefit for the people of Rome. Imperial rule was projected to have a positive impact on the daily lives of subjects in both Rome and the provinces.<sup>63</sup> According to Pliny, it is due to Trajan's magnanimous policies that the benevolence of the empire is brought into sharp relief. Trajan's extensive building programs of new roads and ports, which included the famous *Portas Traiani*, were part of a single comprehensive plan that projected a new conception of the empire.<sup>64</sup> As Bennett argues concerning Pliny's perspective, these efforts "implanted in the public consciousness that... Rome was becoming but one city, if the principal, amongst a commonality of peoples and communities."<sup>65</sup> This

<sup>62</sup> Pliny, *Pan.* 29.

<sup>63</sup> "Other imperial benefits mentioned by Pliny include the alleviation of drought conditions in Egypt (30.5, 31.3–6); the spread of fertility (*fecunditas*) everywhere (32.2); the granting of various tax immunities and remissions (38–41); and the settling of rivalries between cities (80.3)." Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 102, footnote 3.

<sup>64</sup> New roads and harbors were built, for example, at Centumcellae and Ancona. Beyond the purposes of imperial representation, these new constructions boosted the Italian economy by facilitating trade. See Boatwright, "Trajan Outside Rome," 265.

<sup>65</sup> Julian Bennett, *Trajan: Optimus Princeps* (2nd ed.; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 210–11, italics mine.

new representation and perception of the evolving imperial order set up the trajectory that eventually brought about Hadrian's *Panhellenion*, and the *constitution Antoniniana*, which involved granting citizenship to all free men.

The *imperium* was represented at this time as an ever-expanding and increasingly interconnected network organized around the most generous and protective of emperors. According to the reigning ideology, provincial territories were thought to be peacefully linked to one another in trade by improved roads and harbors, which allowed otherwise scattered people into an integrated system of empire-wide scope.<sup>66</sup> These Trajanic conceptions of the *imperium* were markedly different from his predecessors, at least in presentation. Trajan's generosity extended out of his paternal concerns in such a way that his subjects simply no longer had any outstanding needs. As Bennett argues,

[M]ore than any of his predecessors, [Trajan] *can* be credited with a personal ideology directed towards the administration of the empire. Fully comprehending the consequences of his actions, he adopted a forward-looking manifesto that was not content with simply rectifying the abuses and mistakes of previous regimes. Instead, each and every one of his many reforms was generated by a visionary speculation that conceived of a unified political, economic and military system for the Roman empire at large. Trajan is credited for developing the concept of the *imperium* as a strategic commonwealth of otherwise distant *ethne* who share a conscious policy of internal trade. Hadrian's *Panhellenion* is the logical conclusion of the system Trajan initiated, and contributed toward the political and economic successes of the second century.<sup>67</sup>

This coheres with what John Richardson has argued that the nature of "empire" is not a simple, static notion. Rather, empires have varied greatly in structure, practice, and in conception.<sup>68</sup> In Richardson's research, he traces how the term *imperium* shifted in its use from the period of the late Republic to the time of Augustus and beyond. Before Augustus, the Romans did not have a term for "empire," as it is used today to refer to a territorial entity.

<sup>66</sup> For more on Trajan's harbor constructions, see Boatwright, "Trajan Outside Rome," 267.

<sup>67</sup> Bennett, *Trajan*, 64. See also Mary T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 204–10.

<sup>68</sup> For a comparison with more modern examples, see John Richardson, "Imperium Romanum between Republic and Empire," in *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, C. 200 B.C.–A.D. 476)*, Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20–23, 2002 (eds. Lukas De Blois, Paul Erdkamp, Olivier Hekster, Gerda De Kleijn, and Stephan Mols; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 137.

Rather, *imperium* was used to refer to a person's or collective's power over another; their ability to command and order others in accordance with their will. During the reign of Augustus, however, the term *imperium* came to increasingly refer to something one could delineate on a map.<sup>69</sup> Conceptions of the *imperium* continued to develop through the Augustan period to connote both the republican notion of "power as possession," as well as the early imperial notion of "power as territorial extent." During the reign of subsequent emperors, there continued to be shifts in both how the empire was represented and perceived. This can be illustrated through a variety of means, not least of all the evolving language of imperial iconography, architecture, foreign policy, and even images of the emperor himself.<sup>70</sup>

Trajanic notions of *imperium* centered on images of the emperor championing a paternalistic interest in the affairs of the provinces.<sup>71</sup> As Bennett argues, the "emperor developed to a fine art the existing procedures of imperial benefaction to the Roman people as a means of presenting himself as the perfect ruler... he was careful to let it be known on inscriptions and on his coinage that these were personal gifts of a benign and all-providing princeps."<sup>72</sup> It was on account of his work in both Italy and the provinces that Trajan became worthy of being called *pater patriae* ("father of the homeland").<sup>73</sup> And as long as this was the projected image of Trajan,

<sup>69</sup> As Richardson notes, "What this variation in the use of language indicates is different notions of what the Roman empire was, and therefore what the object of Roman imperialism consisted of." *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>70</sup> Susan E. Alcock, *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Susan E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Elizabeth Fentress and Susan Alcock, "Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14–16 May, 1998," *JRA* 38 (2000); A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik, *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (Boston: Brill, 2003); Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Johann Arnason and Kurt Raaflaub, eds., *The Roman Empire in Context: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

<sup>71</sup> Bennett, *Trajan*, 113.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>73</sup> Trajan initially refused this title out of concern for showing *moderatio* but eventually accepted it in 98. See Natalie Boymel Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (New York: Cambridge, 2009), 42–43 on the multifaceted theme of fatherhood in Pliny's *Panegyric*, which relates to the adoption of Trajan by Nerva; the contrasting biological relationship between Domitian and his father – Vespasian; Trajan's amendment of the inheritance tax; the *alimenta*, which was given for the benefit of Italian children; the joy of reproduction Trajan's reign inspires; the reaction of children in his Triumphant return to Rome in 99 CE. For references to Trajan as *parens* in the *Panegyric*, see 2.3; 3.2; 21; 29.2; 53.1; 57.5; 67.1; 87.3; 89.2; 94.4.

he could mask any program of reform as stemming from his benefit to the people.<sup>74</sup>

In sum, representations and perceptions of the imperial project evolved considerably during the reign of Trajan.<sup>75</sup> The empire did not exist in some hypothetical sense, but as a series of representations and discourses that were regularly subject to change and controlled by the propagandistic interests of individual emperors, as well as their administrators and subjects. While these developments may have had as much or more to do with rhetoric than reality, they still served to construct Rome for imperial subjects in new ways. Through a combination of art and politics, Roman officials and ambitious provincials together established the image of a new imperial order, a new vision of empire.<sup>76</sup>

### Trajanic Patterns of Provincial Representation

In this section, I wish to extend the discussion by demonstrating that the public image of Trajan, which highlighted his munificence to Italy and the provinces, served as a malleable model upon which provincials fashioned their own public image. While some may doubt the potency of the notion of the emperor as a model for society and the impact this had on actual life and representational trends in the provinces, this section will show that there is a clear correlation that at the same time the emperor's munificence was being emphasized in the official ideology, there is a dramatic spike in the representation of provincial giving in Asia Minor.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 212. The reason for this probably has to do with following in the path of Augustus and out of interest in maintaining a modest public image, not to mention to contrast himself from Domitian. Following Nerva's death, Trajan was elected by the senate as Nerva's successor, granting him the offices of *pontifex maximus* and *pater patriae*, 'Father of the Fatherland.' See also *ibid.*, 52.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>76</sup> Jaś Elsner, "Inventing Imperium: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome." Pages 32–53 in *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (ed. Jaś Elsner; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 35, who addresses a similar set of issues during the reign of Augustus. Here, I am interested in the development of representations and perceptions of imperial power as defined by John Richardson, "The representation and perception of imperial power refers to how one group of people, presumably the Romans, produced by image or by word an account or picture of the empire which was then received and interpreted by others." Richardson, "Imperium Romanum between Republic and Empire," 137.

<sup>77</sup> Carlos Noreña has provided a convincing model for assessing the impact the emperor had on the culture of the empire. He provides a detailed analysis of specific ideals and values the central state used to represent the emperor on coins. He then assesses the response of local communities to these ideals by documenting a high degree of lexical correspondence between the honorific terms employed in dedications to the emperor and the representations of the emperor, as well as subjects, in epigraphic texts found in the provinces. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 290.

In Arjan Zuiderhoek's important study, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, he surveys trends in the epigraphical evidence of depictions of provincial elites in Asia Minor as benefactors from the first through third centuries CE.<sup>78</sup> Zuiderhoek illustrates the dramatic proliferation of representations of euergetism from the end of the first century to the early third century, which highlights the change that took place starting in the early part of the second century, specifically during the first two decades that spanned the reign of Trajan. Zuiderhoek compiled a graph from his data pool, which only included the benefactions of provincials in Asia Minor that were datable to the reign of specific emperors. While this graph details the same basic pattern of late-first to early-third century increase of provincial representations of munificence, it brings into focus the unprecedented proliferation that emerged during the reign of Trajan.

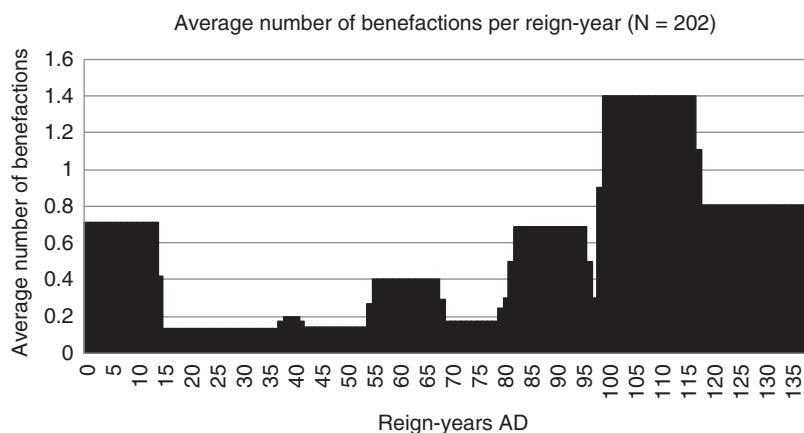
According to Zuiderhoek's database, there was a striking explosion of attestations to acts of euergetism during the reign of Trajan and the representation of public generosity in the eastern province grew to unprecedented heights. Zuiderhoek does not make an attempt to give an account for the fluctuation that takes place from emperor to emperor, except to note that it is difficult to give an account of all the irregularities of the data pool. While Zuiderhoek is not able to provide a sufficient explanation for the subsequent, dramatic decline under Hadrian, he does, however, question whether Hadrian's frequent visits to the eastern provinces had a negative impact on provincial giving. "Did the emperor's frequent travelling in the eastern provinces perhaps discourage local benefactors, making them realize that they were simply no match for serious imperial outlay?"<sup>79</sup> While he admits this is merely speculative, he is attuned to the fact that the emperor himself could directly affect broader representational trends in the provinces, even if it is a negative impact. The emperor Trajan's image as the great public benefactor was crafted in such a way so as to serve as an imperial *exemplum*, or model, upon which provincials fashioned their own self-representations and authority.<sup>80</sup> During this period, local benefactors

<sup>78</sup> Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites, and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Greek Culture in the Roman World; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 9.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, footnote 33.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 111–12. For a discussion of Trajan's personal funding of building projects in Asia Minor, especially in Ephesus with the Library of Celsus, see Christof Berns, "Private Feigebigkeit und die Verschönerung von Städtbildern," in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002), 73–82.

in the provinces emulated the emperor's munificence in giving generously to communities, funding festivals, public amenities, and more. Trajan's own displays of generosity to the provinces seem to have placed a special premium on municipal notables representing themselves displaying the same qualities as the emperor. In essence, they were representing themselves as local versions of the emperor, as subjects who share the emperor's particular virtues, and who claim them as their own.<sup>81</sup>



A graph detailing the dramatic spike during the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE) of representation of benefactions in inscriptions from Asia Minor that can be dated to the reign of a specific emperor.

Adapted from Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 19. Special thanks to Arjan Zuiderhoek for providing Excel charts with the data he collected.

For this reason, Zuiderhoek's study is quite significant in providing new insights into the construction and expression of provincial identity at this time. This observation is further supported by the research of Carlos Noreña, who explains provincial tendencies of "copying the emperor."

Local aristocrats were formally rewarded with these honorific inscriptions in exchange for services performed on behalf of the municipality, above all for civic benefactions such as paying for a new building or sponsoring an afternoon of gladiatorial combat. These aristocrats, in other words, were prominent benefactors of their local communities. And here, too, these local magnates were copying the emperor...<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Noreña, *Imperial Ideals*, 290.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 292. Noreña further questions, "How much resonance could civic benefaction have retained when the ruler of the Roman world was no longer imagined primarily as a model



There are countless examples of provincial copying from other periods in Roman history and places throughout the empire. From a multimedia perspective, Antlar Heklar's general observation of Roman portraiture claims similarly applies:

In imperial Rome, portraits of emperors and their families, now widely recognised from images on coins and from statues set up in public places, had enormous impact upon the form of portraits of private individuals. In various parts of the Roman Empire commemorative funerary portraits were made for the first time. Surviving examples reveal an interest in copying court hairstyles, contemporary jewelry and dress...<sup>83</sup>

In both visual and verbal texts, there are lines one can trace between the public image of any given emperor and his contemporaries. This convergence is especially noticeable in the epigraphic evidence that stems from the time of Trajan. For the Trajanic period, it appears that the emperor encouraged a new ideology where patronage and benefaction were increasingly defined in terms of civic virtue.<sup>84</sup> As Nicols argues, "Roman tradition and the imperial ideology assigned the patronage of communities to the duties of the good citizen toward his state and society. Hence, prestige was acquired by fulfilling all obligations successfully."<sup>85</sup> Individuals could depend on the benefaction system as a means of expressing their local, regional, and imperial identities. For the Trajanic period in particular, the patronage of communities carried a heightened capital because it served as an institution that reproduced on a smaller scale that of the emperor, who was venerated as the supreme benefactor to the provinces.<sup>86</sup> Political power was gained and exercised through patronage networks. The emperor, provincial governors,

civic benefactor? The consequence of such a change would have been that the power, wealth, and statuses of these local notables would no longer be legitimated primarily through civic benefaction and local patronage. And that would have been a change with empire-wide ramifications, since the empire depended on the vitality of its cities and the municipal aristocracies who controlled them." *Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>83</sup> Antlar Hekler, *Greek & Roman Portraits* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972), 96. The author gives specific examples of how Vespasian's features were reflected in private portraiture. For a discussion of Trajanic portraits and types of depictions, see Dietrich Boschung, "Ein Kaiser in vielen Rollen: Bildnisse des Traian." Pages 163–71 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>84</sup> John Nicols, "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities," *Hermes* 108, no. 3 (1980): 384. See Pliny, *Pan* 44.7 for the incentives promised to patrons.

<sup>85</sup> Nicols, "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities," 377–78.

<sup>86</sup> Halvo Moxnes, "Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts." Pages 248–49 in *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome Neyrey; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991); Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 133–201.

and local elites could not expect to carry out their rule without cultivating patron–client relationships within the jurisdiction they were active. Trajan was seen as solely occupying the top of this social hierarchy, governing the empire as the *optimus patronus*. Provincial notables, in turn, were not only expected, but were supposed to use their positions of power to grant *beneficia* on their communities and friends.<sup>87</sup> Showing generosity toward a community became the defining qualities of an *optimus civis*.

In spite of the dramatic social inequality that distinguished the empire's elite from the masses then, there was an unmatched display in public generosity, more so than most other pre-industrial societies. This is especially striking in light of the fact that euergetism had a long history that pre-dates the empire, stretching to the early Hellenistic period and arguably all the way back to Archaic Greece.<sup>88</sup> In the Roman period, however, public giving rose to a place of new importance and political significance. The term “euergetism” is a neologism that was invented by modern ancient historians and derives from the Greek honorific title *euergetes* (“benefactor”), a title awarded to generous individuals.<sup>89</sup> For instance, the text below comes from an inscription that records the honors of an individual, Dionysius, who was remembered as a *euergetes* of the people, a good man who was generous to the citizen body of Smyrna.<sup>90</sup>

Ὁ δῆμος  
Διονύσιον Διονυσίου  
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα περὶ τὴν  
πολιτείαν  
καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου.

Many of the epigraphical records included some version of the term *euergetes* to commemorate and honor the generosity of an individual.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 245–46.

<sup>88</sup> Philippe Gauthier, *Les Cités Grecques et Leurs Bienfaiteurs* (Athènes: Ecole française d'Athènes 1985).

<sup>89</sup> For a concise history of the term and scholarship, see Zuiderhoek, *Politics of Munificence*, 6–12.

<sup>90</sup> “The people (honor) Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, who is a good man to the body of citizens and a benefactor of the people.” Regarding this inscription, one scholar notes, “The phrase *aner agathos* regularly appears in the inscriptions as an honorific for civic benefactors... The honorific, *euergetes tou demou*, registers the gratitude of the *polis* towards its benefactor. It forms the background to Luke's portrayal of Christ as an exorcising and healing benefactor (Acts 10:38)... However, in contrast to our inscription, the honour accorded Christ is redirected towards God. For *euergesia*: Acts 4:9, 1 Tim. 6:2; *euergetes*: Luke 22:25. On the New Testament avoidance of *eu-* compounds, see *New Docs 2* (1982): 106; S. R. Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. Vol. 9* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2002). See also Georg Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna 2, 1*. (Bonn: Habelt, 1987).

There were various types of public giving that were considered acts of *euergetism*.<sup>91</sup> For instance, donors would give small bequests of money to private clubs in order to finance commemorative acts at the donor's gravesite. Or donors could give gifts to their native towns for the construction of public amenities. Strict boundaries between civic munificence and other types of public giving cannot be clearly drawn.<sup>92</sup> Nor is it always easy to determine the social values involved. *Euergetism* could assume many shapes, forms, and meanings, which made it that much more potent as a social activity, as Zuiderhoek himself recognizes:

When one goes through the sources, it quickly becomes evident that, for the ancients, a wide and fairly flexible gamut of acts could, depending on circumstances, qualify as public benefactions. Of course there were some main trends in gift-giving, but on the whole the ancient conception of civic *euergetism* seems to have been fairly fluid. This fluidity had a clear function... for it allowed parties to present a fairly wide range of actions and behaviours as acts of civic munificence, and hence to increase the amounts of social (prestige), political and ideological benefit that could be reaped from them.<sup>93</sup>

Though there may have been a variety of actions that fit into the category of *euergetism*, not all acts of public generosity could automatically turn a person into a *euergetes*.<sup>94</sup> The granting of this honor depended on the public acceptance of the gift and the granting of the appropriate honors in exchange.<sup>95</sup> Benefactors could expect a number of things in return for their generous acts of *euergetism*. For instance, a community could respond by honoring the benefactor with a statue that includes an honorific inscription recounting the public work. Erecting the statue in a public space could be accompanied with a ceremonial dedication, which could include the people chanting in praise of the benefactor's gift. In distinguishing benefaction from other acts of giving, one needs to pay close attention to the honors received in return for it.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Arthur Robinson Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968); Mitchell Dean, "The Genealogy of the Gift in Antiquity," *The Australian Journal of Anthropology (TAJA)* 5, no. 1–2 (1994): 320–29; Michael L. Satlow, ed., *The Gift in Antiquity* (The Ancient World: Comparative Histories; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

<sup>92</sup> Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire*, 9–10.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, italics mine. See also Arjan Zuiderhoek, "The Ambiguity of Munificence," *Histzeitale Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56, no. 2 (2007): 196–213.

<sup>94</sup> Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2006), 269–70.

<sup>95</sup> Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire*, 11.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

Scholarship typically identifies the following three characteristics of patronage.<sup>97</sup> First, patronage is a type of asymmetrical relationship between two parties of unequal status – typically referred to as patron–clients in modern scholarship. Second, the relationship involves the reciprocal exchange of goods and services. Due to the asymmetry of the relationship, the value exchanged is also asymmetrical, and goods and services were unequal in value and in kind. Third, it is different from a commercial transaction in that the relationship is personal and of some duration. Therefore, for the purpose of this chapter, patronage will be understood by this three-part definition of a sustained, asymmetrical, social relationship that includes an unequal exchange of goods and services. Showing generosity toward a community was seen as a type of benefaction, which created a formal or informal patronal relationship.<sup>98</sup>

Patronage could take a variety of forms and was not limited to simple exchange of gift for honors. One of the predominant forms in the imperial period is brokerage and, not incidentally, also happens to be of great relevance to the characterization of the apostles in the book of Acts. Within a brokerage relationship, the broker–patron serves as a mediator who grants clients access to the resources of a more powerful patron.<sup>99</sup> A prime example of brokerage comes from Roman administrators precisely because of the way the imperial system was structured, which venerated a single ruler who monopolizes a rich array of powers that required go-betweens for wider distribution, and for making the emperor's resources available at the local level. The other form of patronage that is relevant for our discussion of Acts is that of a patron or benefactor to a community. Communities themselves would oftentimes seek out powerful outsiders, coopting them as patrons, typically connected with soliciting *beneficia*.<sup>100</sup>

There are several theories that explain not only the persistence of patronage during the empire, but also its growth. One, it helped maintain social tranquility at a time when wealth and power were accumulating at the very

<sup>97</sup> See Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *Patronage in Ancient Society* (Leicester–Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, v. 1; London and New York: Routledge, 1989); Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Kathryn Lomas and Tim Cornell, eds., *Bread and Circuses: Evergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism* (London: Penguin, 1992).

<sup>98</sup> Nicols, "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities," 383–84. Nicols argues, "Few historians would disagree with the statement that patronage is one of the most important, and yet elusive bonds in Roman society." *Ibid.*, 365.

<sup>99</sup> For a fuller discussion of brokerage, see Moxnes, "Patron–Client Relations," 248–49.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 249; See also Nicols, "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities," 384.

top of the social hierarchy.<sup>101</sup> It also provided a source for social distinction and capital for individual benefactors. In this sense, it served as a field of intense competition among members of the local elite. Furthermore, it could serve as a system of social welfare in the case of a famine or for the support of the poor.<sup>102</sup> Social theories abound in the study of Roman patronage and carry a significant amount of explanative power for any given representation of generosity during the empire.

In sum, the patronage system was extensive and shaped the social world in which subjects represented themselves and their communities. Civic involvement and the bestowal of benefits on the populace were absolutely central to conceptions of the ideal Roman. Civic patronage was a requisite for those of elite status and, as a result, became a common theme in both visual and verbal forms of imperial-period representations. The fact that Trajan himself was represented in accordance with this theme evidences that euergetism conformed to the representational standards of public life and spoke the very language of Roman *imperium*.<sup>103</sup> Having established these points, I wish to turn now to an extended description of a few of the most remarkable architectural accomplishments of Trajan, especially the new Forum complex, and how they served the purpose of projecting his image as the patron of the entire known world.

### Monumentalizing Trajan as Patron of the People

The reign of Trajan was marked by aggressive expansion into new territories on both the northern and eastern frontiers, extending the reach of Rome's dominion to a wider geographical span than any preceding or succeeding period in Roman history.<sup>104</sup> Out of all of his imperial endeavors, Trajan's

<sup>101</sup> Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire*, 5.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>103</sup> Regarding imperial exempla, Zuiderhoek argues, "This is a fascinating topic, worthy of investigation as such, but it does not, I think, provide a *sufficient* explanation for the peculiar proliferation of elite public generosity in the eastern provinces during the high Empire. For that, we have to look primarily to the effects incorporation into the Empire had on the internal socio-political dynamics of polis society." *Ibid.*, III, footnote 78, italics mine.

<sup>104</sup> Trajan's universal rule was expressed in a variety of ways. Trajan is depicted with a 36 cm diameter globe at the fountain in Ephesus. See Richard Oster, "Christianity and Emperor Veneration in Ephesus: Iconography of a Conflict," *Restoration Quarterly* 25 (1982): 143–49. On the role of the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates marking out the borders of the empire, see Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*, 188–89. For a discussion of Trajan's aggressive military action, see Michael Alexander Speidel, "Bellicosissimus Princeps." Pages 23–40 in *Trajan: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

success in the summer of 107 CE after subjugating the region of Dacia (the area that roughly constitutes what is today Romania) into a Roman province proved to be one of the most celebrated triumphs Rome had ever seen.<sup>105</sup> In the words of Susan Mattern, “No conquest in the imperial period brought any emperor greater glory; none was depicted on monuments so vast; none was commemorated in language so reverent.”<sup>106</sup> It was the largest military campaign in Rome’s history, employing roughly half of all the empire’s legions. The booty acquired provided a new degree of prosperity to the emperor’s purse and, in turn, his capital.<sup>107</sup> Upon Trajan’s return to Rome, he initiated a program of urban renovation, which entailed numerous building projects, which, out of competition with his Flavian predecessors, surpassed nearly all of Rome’s structures both in scale and grandeur.<sup>108</sup> In particular, the Baths of Trajan on the Oppian Hill and the Forum and Markets of Trajan served as public amenities for the people of Rome, but were essentially victory monuments financed from the war booty.<sup>109</sup> These building achievements would convince many that they were living in a climactic new age in imperial history where new heights of peace, prosperity, and civilization would be enjoyed around the world. Above all, they served to construct a public image of Trajan as the great patron of a vast multiethnic empire.<sup>110</sup> In what follows, select Trajanic building projects will be analyzed

<sup>105</sup> Trajan declared war on the Dacians in the spring of 101, in attempt to counter the threat they posed and to win military fame. The Roman army was reinforced by units from across the provinces. By the autumn of 102, a peace treaty was exacted and the Dacian leader, Decebalus, became a Roman client, with a part of his kingdom being annexed to the Roman Empire. In celebration of this victory, Trajan took the name “Dacicus” in the same year and celebrated a triumph in Rome. Trajan led the army in a second conquest in the summer of 105, which ended with Decebalus’ suicide, the annihilation of most of the Dacian troops, and the looting of the royal treasury. From the year 106 forward, Dacia was transformed into a province and placed under the control of a governor and two legions. Trajan celebrated a second triumph in the summer of 107.

<sup>106</sup> Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 209.

<sup>107</sup> This was the last instance in Roman sources where vast movable spoils were taken from the conquered district and brought to Rome. See Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*, 23.

<sup>108</sup> On urban development as an imperial priority and strategy during the reign of Trajan, see Michael Zahrnt, “urbanitas gleich romanitas Die Städtepolitik des Kaisers Traian.” Pages 51–72 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>109</sup> Additional public amenities were built out of the proceeds acquired from the war, for example the *aqua Traiana* at Rome and the *via Traiana* that stretched from Beneventum to Brundisium, which was reported to have been paid for by Trajan himself “with his own money” (*sua pecunia*), Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 146. Cf. Boatwright, “Trajan Outside Rome,” 265.

<sup>110</sup> For a discussion of the political motivations of Trajan for his constructions in Rome, see Annette Nünnerich-Asmus, “Er baute für das Volk?! Die stadtrömischen Bauten des Traian.” Pages 97–124 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

for how they not only contributed toward his carefully crafted public image, but also encouraged a system of participation and collaboration.

Roman emperors consistently directed their generosity to the construction of architectural complexes that served to provide amenities and entertainment to the *plebs urbana*.<sup>111</sup> The emperor's building efforts in the public concentrated on the most conspicuous of places, those sites most often associated with and popular for public entertainment and their elaborate spectacles.<sup>112</sup> These included Augustus's famous Naumachia, situated just west of the river Tiber, the Circus of Caligula and Nero located near the Vatican, and the grandiose Stadium with Odeon located in what is now the Piazza Navona, built by Domitian for the competition of Greek athletics and music.<sup>113</sup> Conversely, the theaters of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus were built before Augustus and were sufficient enough that they did not need replacing by subsequent emperors.<sup>114</sup> The Flavian amphitheater, otherwise known as the Colosseum, was a prime example of architectural patronage in the sphere of popular entertainment.<sup>115</sup> Zanker argues that the Colosseum's architectural design illustrates in an exemplary way the two primary concerns in imperial patronage of theater buildings: "regulating" the populace and offering a symbolic vision of their part in the larger political system.<sup>116</sup>

Recreational bathing was a popular form of leisure activity where citizens met with one another and experienced community.<sup>117</sup> Several bathing complexes were funded by emperors, including the baths of Agrippa, Nero, and Titus.<sup>118</sup> The reign of Trajan, however, brought about a new scale and grandeur in imperial bathing architecture.<sup>119</sup> The Baths of Trajan were built over the then destroyed *Domus Aurea* of Nero. At the center of the compound lay an area for bathing, which was only a part of a much larger and more

<sup>111</sup> Regarding the use of buildings in imperial propaganda in the time of the late Republic and early empire, see Elsner, "Inventing Imperium," 42–44.

<sup>112</sup> On the responsibility of the sole *patronus* of the *plebs urbana* in sponsoring spectacles, see Bennett, *Trajan*, 60.

<sup>113</sup> Goodman, *Roman World*, 94.

<sup>114</sup> Zanker, "By the Emperor, for the People," 68.

<sup>115</sup> Mary Boatwright concisely surveys authors under the empire who wrote about ancient figures and valorized their own building accomplishments in "Trajan Outside Rome," 259.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>117</sup> See Fikret K. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); Garrett G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). For more on how architecture provided different types of community experiences for the *plebs urbana*, see Zanker, "By the Emperor, for the People," 64–65. See also Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); James C. Anderson, *Roman Architecture and Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

<sup>118</sup> Bennett, *Trajan*, 150.

<sup>119</sup> Zanker, "By the Emperor, for the People," 61.



complex structure.<sup>120</sup> It was surrounded on the outside with green space and gardens, while the complex itself was demarcated from the busy surrounding area with tall buildings around the perimeter.<sup>121</sup>

The Forum of Trajan was the centerpiece of Trajan's building program in Rome and stood as one of the most marvelous monuments in the ancient world.<sup>122</sup> Situated in the heart of Rome, it formed the single largest complex in the imperial city. More than anything, it employed monumental architecture to express Trajan's identity as the great patron of the empire. Construction of the Forum began soon after Trajan's victorious return from his second Dacian campaign and was substantially completed by 112 CE just before Trajan and the Roman military traveled eastward on campaign to combat Rome's greatest neighboring foe, the Parthian Kingdom.<sup>123</sup> Thus, construction of the Forum was chronologically framed by Trajan's expansionistic enterprise, and, in turn, aimed to advertise them to a metropolitan audience and legitimize such efforts as benevolent undertakings. The main structures within the forum included an open courtyard flanked by two enclosed promenades, an enormous basilica, two libraries, and a temple. Standing between the two libraries was the most innovative element in the Forum, the Column of Trajan. It was designed by one of the greatest architects from antiquity, Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's chief military architect, who is responsible for several construction projects, least of all a monumental bridge spanning the River Danube erected to facilitate military travel during Trajan's Dacian campaigns.<sup>124</sup> It was the booty acquired during these wars that paid for the construction of the Forum.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>122</sup> I am here dependent on and thankful for the recent reconstructions proposed by archaeologist, James Packer, who has generated more knowledge of the Forum complex than ever before. See James E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments in Brief* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); "Report from Rome: The Imperial Fora, a Retrospective," *AJA* 101, no. 2 (1997): 307–30; "Trajan's Glorious Forum," *Archaeology* 51, no. 1 (1998): 32.

<sup>123</sup> Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 12. Cass. Dio 68.16.3. According to an inscription found at Ostia, 112, which also corresponds to the completion of Trajan's new seaport at the mouth of the Tiber River. *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>124</sup> In Rome, Apollodorus was also responsible for Baths of Trajan, an odeum, and probably Trajan's markets. John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 175. See also Edmund Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4, on the monumentality of the bridge and its advertisement on coins. See Cassius Dio 69.4.1. On Trajan's markets, see Lynne Lancaster, "Building Trajan's Markets," *AJA* 102, no. 2 (1998): 283–308; Lynne Lancaster, "Building Trajan's Markets 2: The Construction Process," *AJA* 104, no. 4 (2000): 755–85.

Recent excavations in Rome have yielded exciting new insights into the Forum complex designed by Apollodorus on behalf of the emperor Trajan.<sup>125</sup>

The following will provide a thick description of buildings that constituted the Forum of Trajan with an eye on the following questions.<sup>126</sup> How does it further express the reigning royal ideology of the emperor as patron of the entire *oikoumenē*? How would the diverse population in Rome have understood its meaning? This section will be organized around the typical sequence of sights one would experience as they enter the front of the Forum and proceed to its far end. What was the meaning and role of such imperial space within Roman society? How does it compare to other contemporary cultural productions? How does it cohere with and differ from the adjacent imperial fora in Rome?

The Forum of Trajan stood as the last and largest of the imperial fora, which aimed not only to surpass but also to tie together those fora constructed by Trajan's imperial predecessors, namely the one begun by Julius Caesar and completed by his successor (Forum Iulium), Augustus (Forum Augusti), Vespasian (Templum Pacis), and Domitian (Forum Transitorium).<sup>127</sup> The Forum of Trajan sits in the center of Rome, between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills, parallel to the Forum Iulium and forming a right angle with the Forum Augusti, and extending the north-south axis of the Templum Pacis.<sup>128</sup> It thus stood in over a hundred-year-tradition of fora architectural conventions, maintaining though a high degree of innovation in both size and lavishness. Extending to around 310 meters in length and 185 meters at its maximum width, Trajan's Forum was nearly twice the size of the Forum Augustum, which was built over a century before. Therefore, in addition to unifying the fora, it served as the ultimate climax of these previous imperial fora.<sup>129</sup> According to Stamper, "Its grandeur and magnificent scale were

<sup>125</sup> Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*.

<sup>126</sup> Although new information now exists concerning the Forum's design and decorations, its meaning and role as an imperial complex continues to be contested among modern researchers. John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 19–41.

<sup>127</sup> The Forum Transitorium was dedicated by Nerva after Domitian's death.

<sup>128</sup> For a discussion of the "architectural quotations" in the Forum of Trajan with the other imperial fora, see Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 318–28.

<sup>129</sup> As Stamper notes, "The plan of its principal space was essentially a mirror image of the Templum Pacis on the opposite side of the Forum Augustum and the Forum Transitorium. It had similar dimensions, a similar colonnaded enclosure, and similar statuary and trees. The complex was laid out symmetrically with a progression of buildings and spaces totaling 310 meters in length." Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 175.

meant to be understood as a newly achieved perfection in imperial architecture and political symbolism.”<sup>130</sup>

The Forum of Trajan was designed to emulate structures found in the Forum Augustum, such as the large hemicycle exedras extending out of the forum porticos.<sup>131</sup> While there were notable differences between the forums of Trajan and Augustus, the latter’s forum had a temple dominating the open courtyard while the former’s had a basilica. This is not coincidental, but rather an important way Trajan advertised his own relationship with the past and the claims it made of the present.<sup>132</sup> It set Trajan and his achievements within a broader historical framework.<sup>133</sup>

The architectural style used to construct the Forum blends different forms associated with specific locales such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece, which had the effect of symbolizing “the idea of continuity in the Empire.”<sup>134</sup> Throughout the Forum complex, viewers could have also marveled at the expensive multicolored marbles imported from distant places in the empire. To further enhance the international mode of architecture and décor, James Packer identifies four provincial prototypes that influenced the Forum’s design, including “large-scale temples of Egypt and Mesopotamia, from the markets or shrines of the Hellenistic East, from the early imperial legionary camps of the northern frontier, or from the urban architecture of provincial northern Italy of the first century [CE]. . .”<sup>135</sup> It was through and through a cosmopolitan structure intended to advertise Rome as not only the capital of Italy but the whole world. This sets Trajan and his achievements within a broader cosmological framework.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>131</sup> In addition to this, the architectural decorations are much closer to the Forum Augustum than to any of the Flavian buildings. The influence is so pervasive that it has been described by some as an “Augustan revival.” Further similarities include the colonnades, attic zone, and rear hemicycles, *ibid.*, 175, 182.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire*, 212.

<sup>133</sup> As Gunnar Seelentag points out, the lack of a temple on the far side of Trajan’s forum meant there was a second gate giving pedestrians direct access to Trajan’s column without having to pass through the triumphal entrance, courtyard, or basilica, Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 311. There is archaeological evidence of such a gate. There is still debate as to which gate served as the main entrance.

<sup>134</sup> Stampler, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 175.

<sup>135</sup> Packer also identifies several local prototypes as well: “the Theater and Portico of Pompey and the portico erected by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 146 and rebuilt by Augustus as the Porticus Octaviae, and the Forum of Augustus himself, which supplied many of the elements of the plan and the cool classicizing style of the architectural elements.” Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 174.

<sup>136</sup> Packer argues, “stated in the contemporary imperial international mode, his plan for the Forum of Trajan was an intelligent blend of oriental, Gk, Italic, and Roman elements that visually expressed Rome’s unique position as the capital of the Mediterranean World.” *Ibid.*, 174.

Visitors to the Forum would enter either through the central triumphal arch or one of two smaller lateral arches that all stood on the slightly curved south side facing the Forum of Augustus. Mounted on top of the central arch stood a charioteer statue, probably of gilt bronze, depicting Trajan in triumphal procession accompanied by a winged Victory who likely held a wreath over Trajan's head. They were pulled in a six-horse chariot restrained by two attendants of the goddess Roma, possibly Amazons, who led the emperor in triumphal procession. Flanked on both sides are trophies composed of the defeated enemy's armor and two additional female attendants. These arches project forward into the Forum and mirrored the front of the Basilica, which stood across the courtyard, rendering the Forum's design symmetrical.<sup>137</sup> Although there are no archaeological remains of this triumphal entrance, it was advertised on coins, which serve as an important source of information for the structures that are now lost to history. This entrance, designed as a triumphal arch, initiated the martial theme that ran throughout.<sup>138</sup>

Upon entering through these arches, visitors would encounter an expansive open courtyard paved in a dazzling white marble and surrounded by porticoes stretching across the entire left and right sides.<sup>139</sup> Packer argues, "the simple proportions of the open space and the rhythmic repetition of the columnar facades evoked a sense of human order and scale, of well being, of a tranquility conditioned and sustained by latent power."<sup>140</sup> Standing along the central axis of the forum square was the colossal equestrian statue of Trajan, the *Equus Traiani*, successor of a similarly monumental statue erected in the Forum Romanum by Domitian and then destroyed as a result of the *damnatio memoriae* issued upon his death.<sup>141</sup> Although this Trajanic statue no longer exists, its image was also minted on coins, serving as our primary source of knowledge of the installation.<sup>142</sup> The statue's grandeur

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 54–60.

<sup>138</sup> Secondary entrances were located on the sides connected to the Trajan's markets and the Forum Iulium. Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 175. See Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 314–15, for a discussion of coins depicting key structures in the forum, namely the basilica, the equestrian statue, the column, and the entrance. The coins representing the basilica and column were issued in 112 CE during the construction phase.

<sup>139</sup> Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 313.

<sup>140</sup> Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 112. For a useful summary of the history of the development of porticoes in the city of Rome, see Zanker "By the Emperor, for the People," 50.

<sup>141</sup> Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 336–48.

<sup>142</sup> The image represented on these coins vary in detail so the exact nature of this statue is not certain. In one version, the emperor is depicted on horseback trampling a Dacian enemy. See Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 313.

is attested by Ammianus Marcellinus, who reports that Constantius, when visiting Rome in 357, envied the statue and commissioned a replica back home while grieving not being able to build as glorious of a stable as Trajan (enviously referring to the magnificence of Trajan's Forum as a location to house the statue).<sup>143</sup> A number of additional statues would have been visible from the courtyard.<sup>144</sup> Situated on the arches of the Basilica were additional charioteer statues, reinforcing the symmetry between the north and south sides of the forum.

Bordering the entire east and west sides of the courtyard were Corinthian colonnades slightly raised from the forum floor by three steps. Standing above each column was a series of Dacian statues, roughly eight feet tall, some of which were later used on the Arch of Constantine. This has its parallel in the Augustan forum where caryatids adorned the comparable area.<sup>145</sup>

In between these statues, in the bays of the intercolumniations, were shields with enlarged portrait heads of past historical heroes, such as emperors and empresses, numbering around sixty in total. Repeatedly carved into the attic of the Colonnades was an inscription reading "EX MANUBIIS" (from spoils) communicating to viewers that the Forum was financed from riches acquired from Dacian campaigns. Inside the colonnades was a sizable rectangular space enjoyed by the urban plebs for promenades.<sup>146</sup>

Towering above the central axis of the forum square was the Roman panopticon, an image of Trajan mediating between heaven and earth, the colossal thirteen-foot statue of the emperor that stood on top of the Column of Trajan, which was visible over the Basilica roof looming above visitors

<sup>143</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus includes the oldest known report on the visit to the Forum complex of Constantius II: "But when he came to the Forum of Trajana, a construction unique under the heavens, as we believe, and admirable even in the unanimous opinion of the gods, he stood fast in amazement, turning his attention to the gigantic complex about him, beggaring description and never again to be imitated by mortal men. Therefore, abandoning all hope of attempting anything like it, he said he would and could copy Trajan's steed alone (*equus Traiani*), which stands in the center of the vestibule carrying the emperor himself. To this prince Ormisda, who was standing near him... replied with native wit: 'First, Sire, said he, command a like stable to be built'" (XVI 10, 15–16), translated in Filippo Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan* (trans. Cynthia Rockwell; Rome: Colombo, 2000), 3.

<sup>144</sup> "Trajan and his successors set up a great number of statues of generals and other distinguished men (S. H. A. M. Aurelius 22.7; Alex. Sev. 26.4; Tacitus 9.2; Sid. Apoll., Carm. 8.8, 9.301). A great many inscriptions belonging to these statues have been found, some of which are explicit about their having been erected in Foro Traiani or in Foro Ulpio (CIL 6. 1377=31640, 1599, 1710, 1721, 1724, 1727, 1749; ILS 809, 1098, 1244, 1275, 1326, 2949, 2950)," Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 175.

<sup>145</sup> Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 61.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 60–69.

standing in the courtyard.<sup>147</sup> The statue depicted Trajan holding a globe in one hand, signaling the universal extent of his imperium with a spear in his other hand.<sup>148</sup> This statue, lost in the Middle Ages, was replaced in 1588 with a statue of St. Peter, still standing today.<sup>149</sup> What would it have been like to ascend the Column staircase onto the balcony, overlooking the Forum of Trajan, the surrounding imperial fora, and the city of Rome?<sup>150</sup> Seelentag points out that the Column's belvedere would have given viewers the opportunity to admire the radiant bronze roofs of the market and the Forum buildings.<sup>151</sup>

Standing perpendicular to the central axis of the Forum was the largest building in Rome, the massive Basilica Ulpia (Ulpian was Trajan's family name), which was the centerpiece of the entire complex and stood dominating the opposite side of the courtyard (see [Figures 20–22](#)).<sup>152</sup> As Seelentag further notes, the Basilical Ulpia was the largest structure of its kind in the Roman world. Its dimensions were about 400 feet long and 200 feet wide, not including the apses extending out on both ends.<sup>153</sup> Four avenues of trees served to naturalize the artificial environment and its invasive pageantry of imperial pomp. It was one of the most impressive buildings of imperial

<sup>147</sup> See [previous chapter](#) for discussion of Column.

<sup>148</sup> Numismatic evidence indicates the statue stood on a globe while holding a spear in one hand and an orb (representative of world domination) in the other, see Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 175.

<sup>149</sup> In 1162, a law was passed promising the death penalty to anyone who tried to damage the Column.

<sup>150</sup> Penelope Davies, "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *AJA* 101, no. 1 (1997): 61, argues that the Column served as the first belvedere in Rome designed specifically as a viewing station. This is an important part of her argument which sees the Column as concerned with viewers' bodily manipulation in the perpetuation of Trajan's memory.

<sup>151</sup> Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 314. Furthermore, Seelentag considers what function the useful internal staircase served. Beyond giving viewers access to views of the surrounding area, it may have held certain ritualistic significance. Participant could circle counter-clockwise ascending the internal staircase, creating a border with magical powers that protected its center. In support of this, Seelentag references a number of Roman rituals that employ circular motion as a part of their ritual procession, such as the Triumph. See Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 401. The top of the Column would have stood at the same height as the top floor of the markets nearby, Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 400.

<sup>152</sup> The open square measured 118 meters long and 189 meters wide; porticoes were 12 meters deep. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 175. Not only was it the largest single structure and the most lavishly decorated in the Forum, it was, as argued by Stamper, "the most directly linked to the day-to-day projection of the emperor's authority and power." Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 179. See Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 146–63.

<sup>153</sup> Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 314.

Rome, built with a combination of white and colored marble. The Basilica is in some ways comparable to the Basilica of the Forum of Pompeii, though the former was significantly larger and more ornate than the latter. Similar to the main entrance of the Forum, the Basilica's central entrance was shaped as a triumphal arch. Along the attic and the pedestals above were more inscriptions, this time listing the myriad of ethnic names of the legions who had fought in the Dacian wars.

Having a basilica in the middle of the Forum deviated from its predecessors in Rome where the focus typically revolved around a temple.<sup>154</sup> The roof was elevated to allow light to shine into the building, rendering visible the interior frieze of bull-slaying Victories. It is reminiscent of an Egyptian style used in temples millennia before. The Basilica Ulpia became one of the most important official centers in the capital. Trajan used the Basilica for a number of imperial activities.<sup>155</sup> It was used to receive foreign dignitaries, preside over legal trials and ceremonies and distribute imperial *beneficia*.<sup>156</sup> Additional Dacian statuary, larger than those along the colonnades, stood on the attic of the Basilica, roughly 10.5 feet tall, their bodies made of white purple-veined marble (*pavonazzetto*) and their heads and hands of white marble.

Exiting the north side of the Basilica Ulpia, one enters another courtyard.<sup>157</sup> This one consisting of the Column of Trajan flanked by two libraries.<sup>158</sup> The west library contained texts written in Latin while the east library contained texts written in Greek, following a tradition established in earlier imperial libraries.<sup>159</sup> Decorating the interior of each library were colossal statues, perhaps of Trajan and Minerva. The inclusion of the libraries within the forum complex was quite significant. It served to characterize Rome as the capital of learning.<sup>160</sup> They were likely the largest libraries in Rome at the time and could hold an estimated 10,000 volumes.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>154</sup> According to Stamper, this is due to the military camp serving as the primary model for the Forum, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 179.

<sup>155</sup> Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 4–5.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>157</sup> The courtyard measures 24 meters wide and 16 meters deep. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 175; Niels Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Århus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1988), 152.

<sup>158</sup> “Famous in antiquity, this Library also included archival materials – the edicts of the emperors and praetors, decrees of the Senate – and rare books like Caesar’s autobiography and Trajan’s commentaries on the Dacian Wars. To use the collection, a reader would have asked the procurator bibliothecarum for the permission of the praefectus urbi,” Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 78.

<sup>159</sup> Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians*, 314.

<sup>160</sup> Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, *Rome the Cosmopolis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 14, 16.

<sup>161</sup> Lionel Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 84–85, 99.



Hadrian is responsible for completing the Forum by dedicating on the far north side a temple to his deified predecessor, the newest members of the Roman pantheon, Trajan and his wife Plotina.<sup>162</sup> It is unclear, however, whether or not a temple was a part of the original plan drawn up by Apollodorus.<sup>163</sup> In size, it equaled the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus and, according to its depiction on coins, had a similarly tall podium.<sup>164</sup> The temple's dedicatory inscription reads: "The Emperor Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Pontifex Maximus with Tribunician Power, Consul for the third time, by decree of the Senate [dedicates this temple] to his deified parents, Trajan Parthicus and Plotina."<sup>165</sup> Thus, word and architectural design came together in the Forum to venerate Trajan during his lifetime and for posterity.

The martial character of the Forum is one of the most prominent organizing themes of the entire complex. The presence of triumphal arch-shaped entrances, depictions of the emperor on horseback, statues of captured Dacians, all serve to commemorate Trajan's military exploits. In addition, on the roofs of the porticoes flanking the central courtyard were images of horses and military trophies, and the repeated phrase *ex manubiis*. The very concept of an open forum with a central, perpendicular Basilica follows the typical plan of a military camp. The Basilica corresponds to the *principia*, the main building within the camp. Likewise, the location of the libraries corresponds to the place the legions' archives would have been stored. Behind such archives, in an area corresponding to where the Temple of Trajan was erected, would have stood a sanctuary that held the legion's standards and an image of the emperor.<sup>166</sup> These elements are crucial to making the Forum of Trajan a commemorative monument to the Dacian triumph. It extolls the superiority of Rome over the "barbarian" outsiders.

The Forum served a critical role in Trajan's imperial project by fostering a consensual feeling among its visitors of the benefits of imperialism as the guarantor of peace, prosperity, and civilization, not just in Rome, but for

<sup>162</sup> Since the temple complex has not yet been excavated our knowledge of the structure comes primarily through coins.

<sup>163</sup> Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 83, argues that it was "planned as an integral part of the Forum."

<sup>164</sup> Also corresponded in size to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Templum Pacis. Similarities with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus include its general plan, virtually identical sized pronaos (width of 34 to 36 meters), and use of the Corinthian Order. See Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 173. See also Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 83.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>166</sup> Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 179.

the whole world. It concretized and disseminated conceptions of a new and evolving imperial order where Rome was but the capital of an ever-expanding confederation of different peoples who could all theoretically become Roman through enculturation. As Jaś Elsner argues,

Art and architecture made possible the rituals of Roman daily life, images naturalized the appropriateness of that life through repeated representation; together those rituals and images formed a potent means of “Romanization” – of bringing the still ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse communities around the Mediterranean into a single imperial polity.<sup>167</sup>

This was brought into symbolic form through its use of an international mode of architecture that blended different forms associated with specific locales from Italy to Mesopotamia. In several ways, it brought all of the constituent people groups of the empire into the same place – whether that be experienced in the multiethnic makeup of its visitors, the Dacian statuary on display, the list of legions and their various ethnicities from all around the empire who contributed to the war, to the reliefs on the Column showing different ethnic groups fighting on behalf of Rome. Throughout the Forum complex, viewers would have marveled at the expensive multicolored marbles imported from distant places in the empire. All of this, of course, masking the violent imposition of Trajanic expansionism behind the benevolent veneer of a peaceful incorporative policy.

In general, markets and fora were a popular type of public space emperors could embellish to express their patronage to the urban masses. We know from ancient authors that porticoes were especially enjoyed as public spaces and, as such, intentionally built for leisurely promenades, quite independent of whatever primary purpose of the building to which they belonged.<sup>168</sup> In this way, they provided an elaborate network of covered space that wound throughout the city and its most important areas, providing important public space that was universally accessible. A large number of these porticoes were intentionally joined together as part of imperial architectural patronage.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13.

<sup>168</sup> See Martial, *Epigrams* 2.14; Horace *Carmina* 1.8; Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.77–79; Zanker, “By the Emperor, for the People,” 48, 54.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 59–60.

The importance of the Forum exceeded its practical use. It is a paragon of monumental architecture, which, according to Edmund Thomas's definition, "involves buildings whose 'scale and elaboration exceed the requirements of any practical functions that a building is intended to perform'. The corollary of this observation is that monumental architecture has a meaning beyond its practical function."<sup>170</sup> The Forum concretized and represented a new and evolving imperial order. It represented the empire to subjects and communicated what it meant to be Roman. As one commentator put it, "In mapping out the concept of self-improvement through Romanization, Trajan's Forum, Basilica, and Column proclaimed a benevolence that masked the hard realities for outsiders – especially the non-elite functionaries – the slave and freedmen lawyers, doctors, architects, engineers, surveyors, and teachers who would have frequented the Forum and especially the libraries flanking the Column."<sup>171</sup> Laura Nasrallah argues that the Forum puts into visual form a number of discourses concerning empire, including justice, piety, ethnicity, and *paideia* brought about during the second sophistic and responded to by Justin Martyr.<sup>172</sup> Many of the structures found within the complex certainly echo the broader discursive world.<sup>173</sup> They serve as poetic manifestations of these discourses and parallel other cultural poetics evidenced in the diverse forms of cultural production, including literature, statues, architecture, and more. The Forum of Trajan expressed and articulated the conditions of the time, especially by projecting an image of the emperor as the *optimus patronus* on behalf of the *plebs urbana* and benefactor *par excellence*. Thus, these constructions served

<sup>170</sup> Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire*, 4. As a whole, the Forum of Trajan served a number of different functions. It served as a gift to the Roman people where open space was granted amid the spatially congested urban environment. It provided public space for a variety of interactions, whether they be formal or convivial. The complex as a whole advertised Trajan's military accomplishments against the Dacians in two successful campaigns. It was, in fact, the wealth acquired from these campaigns that funded the building project in the first place. Inscriptions, statuary, and reliefs remind the visitor of this at every turn of their visit in the Forum. A visitor would have encountered the image of the emperor in every part of the Forum. For officials, the Forum provided designated space for judicial matters, distributing largesse, and archiving. These are but only a few of the several functions the Forum of Trajan served. All of the surrounding fora shared, in part, the common task of supplementing the limited space in the Forum Romanum. See Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome*, 4. See also Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 182.

<sup>171</sup> Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 40.

<sup>172</sup> Laura Nasrallah, "The Acts of the Apostles, Greek Cities, and Hadrian's Panhellenion," *JBL* 127, no. 3 (2008): 533–66.

<sup>173</sup> On the influence the Forum had on near contemporary provincial architectural and iconographic programs, see the discussion of the Traianeum in Pergamon and the Library of Celsus in Ephesus in Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire*, 9–10, 12.

a legitimizing purpose in a system where authority was predicated on the need to justify one's rule through acts of munificence.<sup>174</sup>

### Conclusion: Trajanic Standards of Representation

The emperor built not only in Rome but also in the Italian peninsula and the provinces.<sup>175</sup> These construction projects, however, were shown to differ in kind from those in Rome, in that they were restricted largely to utilitarian constructions, such as walls, sewers, streets (eleven new roads in Italy alone), harbors, and water systems. In Mary Boatwright's comprehensive survey of Trajan's architectural benefactions in Italy and the provinces, a total of sixty constructions were considered, and three-quarters were utilitarian.<sup>176</sup> The emperor's patronage to the provinces was expressed in the area of infrastructure while local benefactors took it upon themselves to patronize the building of larger complexes that shaped the cityscape.<sup>177</sup> As Boatwright argues, "the investigation of Trajan's architectural patronage outside Rome underscores a fundamental, but ostensibly paradoxical, element of this emperor's successful reign: the co-existence of collaboration and autocracy."<sup>178</sup> All of these constructions illustrate how the emperor served as an exemplar of public generosity for the empire as a whole, providing a potent symbol and model for provincials to fashion their own identity and assert their place in the world. Thus, it is no coincidence that these years saw the highest increase

<sup>174</sup> Zanker compares imperial Rome with other periods in how the emperors demonstrated their power not through the building of elaborate residences, but by building for the Roman people, "By the Emperor, for the People," 77.

<sup>175</sup> Stephen Mitchell, "Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces," *HSCP* 91 (1987): 333–65.

<sup>176</sup> Boatwright, "Trajan Outside Rome," 267. These construction projects largely aided commerce, communication, and military. While most of Trajan's constructions were in Italy, six are in Syria (Antioch), five are in Cyprus, three in Asia, two in Cyrenaica, in Crete, Dalmatia, and possibly one in Lusitania. Conversely, Trajan's roads and engineering works are attested throughout the provinces. See Philip A. Stadter, "Introduction: Setting Plutarch in His Context." Pages 2–26 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)* (eds. Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 18. For a concise survey of Trajan's different types of construction projects throughout Italy, see Henner von Hesberg, "Die Bautätigkeit Traians in Italien." Pages 85–96 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* (ed. Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>177</sup> Zanker, "By the Emperor, for the People," 48.

<sup>178</sup> Boatwright, "Trajan Outside Rome," 260. As Philip Stadter puts it, the construction in the provinces, topped with the frieze of Trajan's column and Pliny's Panegyricus, indicate an "ideology of practicality and cooperation," Stadter, "Setting Plutarch in His Context," 18.

in epigraphical material honoring local benefactors.<sup>179</sup> This was seen as an entire imperial system in which anyone with means could claim a place in Rome's empire.<sup>180</sup> In the following chapter, I wish to situate the book of Acts within the context of provincial representation during the second century in an attempt to contextualize the image of the power and beneficence of the Christian community, whose mission is depicted extending across the *oikoumené*, connecting otherwise distant lands within a patronage network extended through the mission of Paul and centered on the benevolent Christian Deity. It will be argued that the image that emerges in Acts is an imperial one, drawn from Trajanic discourses of empire, in order to fashion the identity of "the Way" within the discourses of Roman *imperium*.

<sup>179</sup> Bennett, *Trajan*, 139.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

## PAUL AND THE POLITICS OF A PUBLIC PORTRAITURE

**B**UT YOU WILL RECEIVE POWER WHEN THE HOLY SPIRIT HAS COME upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth” (Acts 1:8).<sup>1</sup> This promise occurs at the beginning of Acts as the final words of Jesus, announced just prior to his *apotheosis* to heaven and concurrent exaltation.<sup>2</sup> The statement serves a programmatic role in introducing and framing the worldwide mission of the male protagonists in the narrative that follows as foreordained, expansionistic, divinely propelled and empowered.<sup>3</sup> In one dramatic episode after another, Paul is depicted bearing witness to the good deeds of Christ, through

<sup>1</sup> All New Testament translations are from the NRSV unless otherwise noted. The Greek is from the twenty-sixth edition of Nestle-Aland’s *Novum Testamentum Graece*. For political interpretations of this verse, see David L. Tiede, “Acts 1:6–8 and the Theo-Political Claims of Christian Witness,” *WW* 1, no. 1 (1981): 41–51. See Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2009), 44, for a discussion of the phrase “the ends of the earth” and its use in ancient accounts of world missions, such as Heracles, Alexander the Great, and Dio of Prusa. See also Bertram L. Melbourne, “Acts 1:8 Re-Examined: Is Acts 8 Its Fulfillment?,” *JRT* 57/58, no. 2/1–2 (2005): 1–18; Albert Kaumba Mufwata Cissolah, *Jusqu’aux Extrémités De La Terre: La Référence Aux Prophètes Comme Fondement De L’ouverture Universaliste Aux Chapitres 2 Et 13 Des Actes Des Apôtres* (Cahiers de la Revue biblique 67; Paris: J. Gabalda, 2006); Daniel Marguerat and Emmanuelle Steffek, “Luc-Actes et la naissance du Dieu universel,” *Études théologiques et religieuses* 87, no. 1 (2012): 35–56. For a discussion on the role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts, see James B. Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991); Alan Bale, “The Ambiguous Oracle: Narrative Configuration in Acts,” *NTS* 57, no. 4 (2011): 530–46.

<sup>2</sup> See Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts* (Guides to New Testament exegesis 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995), 80–82, on the ascension and its association with eschatology and Jesus’ exaltation.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 2:9–11 also anticipates the apostles’ worldwide mission. See James M. Scott, “Acts 2:9–11 As an Anticipation of the Mission to the Nations,” Pages 87–124 in *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles* (eds. Jostein Adna and Hans Kvalbein; WUNT 127; Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

emboldened speech and miraculous demonstrations, binding together otherwise distant lands within the benevolent *patria* of the Christian deity. Luke's assertion, placed in Jesus' mouth, leads us to wonder: In the midst of Roman claims to possess the *oikoumené* and unite otherwise distant lands under the leadership of a single and benevolent world ruler, what role did such imperial claims and rhetoric play in shaping early Christian discourse and knowledge of self?<sup>4</sup>

This chapter will argue that Acts constructs a public portraiture of Paul that conforms to the representational standards and trends of Roman imperial society circulating in the early second century. Acts presents Paul as an itinerant delegate of the apotheosized *kurios* (Lord) to the provinces of the Roman Empire. During his visits to Lystra (Acts 14), Ephesus (19), and Malta (27), Paul is envisaged actively mediating God's beneficent gifts in "word and deed" to those willing to receive them. Such a discourse will be shown to have served a particular purpose within the context of early Christian identity fashioning and social positioning as it cast the narrative in the language of Roman power.

This chapter will employ the discussion of patronage and the epigraphical record from Asia Minor (the primary location of Paul's travels in Acts), discussed in [Chapter 2](#), as evidence of the status indices and standards by which provincials represented themselves in the public sphere.<sup>5</sup> To briefly review the argument here, there was a dramatic shift in the representation and perception of the emperor in the first two decades of the second century as Trajan was venerated to play more of a paradigmatic role for society as a whole. The impact of this shift was traced in recent studies of Italian and provincial epigraphic records and the honorific terminology used to celebrate local aristocrats, which drew on the language of imperial virtues. Through this intentional overlap, provincial notables modeled their own authority on that of Trajan and represented themselves as local versions of the Roman emperor, sharing his particular virtues. It was shown how the public image of Trajan functioned as a moral exemplar and served as an essential model for the euergetism of local aristocrats in Asia Minor in the

<sup>4</sup> On the topic of geography in the Roman period, see Claude Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Jerome Lectures 19; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); Colin E. P. Adams and Ray Laurence, eds., *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2011); Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> See Richard Oster for a representative example of using epigraphic inscriptions in the study of Acts, Richard Oster, "Acts 19:23–41 and an Ephesian Inscription," *HTR* 77, no. 2 (1984): 233–37.



early second century. Trajan was regarded as the grand patron who sat at the center of a vast network of patronage, who exercised his paradigmatic generosity through the dispensation of benefactions across the entire *oikoumené*. Due to the paradigmatic role the emperor played at this time, it is no surprise that there was a striking proliferation of representations of acts of euergetism in the eastern empire that was unmatched in the period before and after. While this was not the only period in which acts of euergetism were publically commemorated, [Chapter 2](#) attests to the amplification of such discourses during the reign of Trajan and how they extended out of Trajanic notions of *imperium*. It is within this representational context that this chapter argues Acts' portrait of Paul is best understood. It is my contention that situating Acts within such a context contributes to our understanding of the text and how it narratively constructs its heroes in ways that are both culturally relevant and temporally specific. In this chapter, I wish to elucidate the political dimensions of Paul's public portraiture in Acts, which is most clearly articulated in those passages that feature Paul's mission to the provinces. This is not a study that seeks to expose Lukan intent or motivations. Rather, it is a study of comparative discourses and seeks to explain why at least some early Christians started to talk the way they did about their early heroes and their place in the world.<sup>6</sup>

On two separate occasions, Jesus is explicitly described in the same language that fills the epigraphical records discussed in the [previous chapter](#). In Acts 10:38, Jesus is granted this honor by Peter for his work as an exorcising and healing "benefactor:" Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει, ὃς διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ.<sup>7</sup> The honor that is accorded Jesus, however, is deferred to God as the ultimate source of divine gifts. The participle used here to describe Jesus' work is εὐεργετῶν ("benefacting"), a term used with great frequency in honorific contexts to acknowledge the virtue and generosity of public benefactors. Again in 4:9, Peter refers to his own healing benefaction by the noun εὐεργεσίᾳ ("benefaction"). In these two instances,

<sup>6</sup> On the notion of finding a place/home, see Vernon K. Robbins, "Luke-Acts: A Mixed Population Seeks a Home in the Roman Empire." Pages 202–21 in *Images of Empire* (JSOTSup 122; ed., Loveday Alexander; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> "[You know] how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power; how he went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him."

Acts clearly employs the benefactor paradigm to shape its miracle discourse and express the power and beneficence of the new community.<sup>8</sup> The importance of this paradigm is supported by its prevalence at key junctures in the narrative, such as the Cornelius episode, which describes the conversion of a Roman centurion and marks the beginning of the Gentile mission.<sup>9</sup>

A few scholars have argued for the prevalence of the benefactor paradigm at different points in Acts.<sup>10</sup> As Moxnes argues, "It is axiomatic for Luke and others that God is the ultimate benefactor and patron of all... Jesus is God's broker. The central theme of the Gospel is that God acts as a benefactor-patron through Jesus. Jesus is not a patron in his own right, distributing his own resources, but a broker who gives access to the benefactions of God. He mediates between the people of Israel and God."<sup>11</sup> The centrality of the benefactor paradigm to Luke's characterization of Jesus and the early followers is brought into even sharper relief in Acts' portrait of Paul and the

<sup>8</sup> The words of Peter illustrate this point in Acts 2:22–24. Danker argues that the Greek language has a number of terms that constitute the language of benefaction in antiquity, forming an extensive semantic field. Terms that were regularly associated with benefaction language are extensively used in Luke and Acts (e.g., *dikaïos*). The term "benefactor" is used here as an umbrella term that assumes this diversity of manifestations. The term could be used of any type of figure on the spectrum that ran between divinities and humans. There were a variety of different media of exchange that could be considered benefaction, including displays of generosity, the exhibition of moral competence, and the performance of extraordinary deeds. See Halvor Moxnes, "Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts," in *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome Neyrey; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 268.

<sup>9</sup> The Graeco-Roman system of benefaction also seems to play a role in framing the miracle stories of the Gospel of Luke. On benefaction in Luke–Acts, see Bonnie J. Flessen, *An Exemplary Man: Cornelius and Characterization in Acts 10* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011); David L. Matson, *Household Conversion Narratives in Acts: Pattern and Interpretation* (JSNTSup 123; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Daniel Marguerat, "Saul's Conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26)." Pages 179–204 in *The First Christian Historian: Writing the "Acts of the Apostles"* (trans. Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery and Richard Bauckham; SNTSMS 121; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jason T. Lamoreaux, "Social Identity, Boundary Breaking, and Ritual: Saul's Recruitment on the Road to Damascus," *BTB* 38, no. 3 (2008): 122–34; Richard A. Bondi, "Become Such as I Am: St. Paul in The Acts of the Apostles," *BTB* 27, no. 4 (1997): 164–76. For research on the Gentile mission, see Charles H. Talbert, "Once Again: The Gentile Mission in Luke–Acts," in *Reading Luke–Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 161–73; James A. Meek, *The Gentile Mission in Old Testament Citations in Acts: Text, Hermeneutic, and Purpose* (London: T&T Clark, 2008); Jacques Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Paulist, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> Meals and food distribution are seen as dominant forms of patronage in Luke–Acts. See Moxnes, "Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts," 268.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 258–60.

depiction of his mission to the provinces. In what follows, I will explore the image of Paul constructed in Acts, in terms of how the picture of Paul extends the texts' focus on the creation of the patronage network of benefaction that stretched across the *oikoumené*.<sup>12</sup>

### Becoming Paul (Acts 8–13)

Paul is first introduced into the narrative as a Pharisee named “Saul” who is present in Jerusalem at a council that is indicting Stephen for speaking against the temple and the law.<sup>13</sup> This event triggers a “severe persecution” against the church in Jerusalem, with Saul playing a prominent role actively “ravaging the church by entering house after house; dragging off both men and women, he committed them to prison” (8:3).<sup>14</sup> It is this picture of the persecuting Saul that comes to characterize his pre-Damascus life in Acts. In fact, Saul is seen as the “driving force” of the persecutions that follow.<sup>15</sup>

Immediately following the stoning of Stephen, devotees flee from Jerusalem to retreat into the surrounding areas. In response, Saul, “still breathing threats

<sup>12</sup> “It is clear from Luke’s description of the Twelve that they also should be defined as brokers. They were called by Jesus, given shares of his power and authority to heal and to preach the kingdom of God, and became his followers and clients. In their deals with new followers they in turn became patrons in the form of brokers... some of the same confusing broker terminology used of Jesus is also used of the apostles,” “Patron–Client Relations,” 260–62. See also Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Social-Science Commentary; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 227–29.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen’s defense climaxes with the following accusations against the council: “You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you are forever opposing the Holy Spirit, just as your ancestors used to do. Which of the prophets did your ancestors not persecute? They killed those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One, and now you have become his betrayers and murderers. You are the ones that received the law as ordained by angels, and yet you have not kept it” (Acts 7:51–53). The council’s response to Stephen’s malignant verbal assaults serves as a prophetic fulfillment of Stephen’s accusations as the Jerusalem leaders are envisaged taking up the very mantle of their ancestors by “opposing the Holy Spirit,” “persecuting the prophets,” meanwhile becoming “betrayers” and “murderers” of the “Righteous One,” not to mention “law breakers.” The council “became enraged and ground their teeth at Stephen,” they instantly morph into a lynch mob and drag Stephen out of the city to stone him (7:58). Meanwhile, Saul first appears in the narrative standing in approval of this broken judicial process.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion on the role of Jerusalem in Acts, see M. Areeplackal, “The Symbolism of ‘Jerusalem’ in Luke–Acts,” *Bible Bhashyam* 37, no. 2 (2011): 100–51. For a discussion of the Stephen episode, see François Bovon and Bertrand Bouvier, “Étienne le premier martyr: du livre canonique au récit apocryphe,” in Pages 309–32 *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift für Eckhard Plümacher zu seinem 65* (eds. Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter; Boston: Brill, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> Martin Hengel, “The Pre-Christian Paul,” Pages 29–52 in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians: In the Roman Empire* (eds. Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak; New York: Routledge, 1992), 44.

and murders against the disciples of the Lord,” emerges as the principal agent who extends the persecution beyond the confines of Jerusalem, requesting from the high priest letters to the synagogues at Damascus “so that if he found any who belonged to ‘the Way,’ men or women, he might bring them to Jerusalem” (9:2).<sup>16</sup>

In a later passage, as Saul/Paul recounts an earlier stage of his life, he attests to personally inflicting physical harm on believers. “Lord, they themselves know that in every synagogue I imprisoned and *beat those who believed in you*” (22:19, italics mine). This is repeated again during another reminiscence in chapter 26, where Paul recounts having played an active role in condemning believers even to death. These passages further flesh out Luke’s pre-Damascus portrait of Paul, as driven by uncontrolled hatred and inflicting physical harm on others even to the point of their demise.<sup>17</sup> While it seems clear that these passages serve the purpose of fleshing out Paul’s pre-Damascus portrait in negative light, we might wonder why the author portrays Paul’s pre-Damascus life in this particular way and what contrasts are being constructed?

It is no coincidence that Paul’s procedures in “seeking out” followers of “the Way” contrast sharply with imperial instructions regarding the proper Roman procedures and judicial processes for carrying out the same task against Christians in Bithynia under Pliny’s watch. In Trajan’s correspondence with Pliny, he addresses the governor’s inquiry concerning how one should properly respond to Christians. Trajan writes:

You have followed the appropriate procedure, my Secundus, in examining the cases of those brought before you as Christians, for no general rule can be laid down which would establish a definite routine. *Christians are not to be sought out (conquirendi non sunt)*. If brought before you and found guilty, they must be punished, but in such a way that a person who denies that he is a Christian and demonstrates this by his action, that is, by worshipping our gods, may obtain pardon for repentance, even if his previous record is suspect. Documents published anonymously must play no role in any accusation, for they give the worst example, and are foreign to our age.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Commentators have puzzled over Luke’s chronology of assuming an independent Christian community just two or three years after Jesus’ crucifixion. See *ibid.*, 48.

<sup>17</sup> Philip H. Kern, “Paul’s Conversion and Luke’s Portrayal of Character in Acts 8–10,” *TynBul* 54, no. 2 (2003): 63–80.

<sup>18</sup> Pliny X.97, *OWC*, italics mine. The correspondence between Pliny and Trajan has been discussed at great length by A. N. Sherwin-White’s commentary, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). More recently, the collection has also been discussed by Wynne Williams, *Correspondence with Trajan from Bithynia (Epistles X)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990). For a discussion of this passage, see Martin Goodman, *Roman World 44BC–180AD* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 315.

Here Trajan represents himself as a wise and fair arbiter of justice, a model for Pliny and a symbol of a new age of imperial justice.<sup>19</sup> That Trajan gives Pliny specific instructions *not* to seek out Christians is instructive in interpreting Acts' pre-Damascus characterization of Paul. It sharply contrasts with Roman ideals and serves as a negative contrast to Trajan's instructions on how to properly conduct a just trial for the same purpose. Therefore, if one were to take the Pliny–Trajan correspondence as an instance of imperial self-fashioning, following Eleanor Leach, Carlos Noreña, and others, Acts' portrait of the pre-Damascus Saul is intentionally constructed to fail to live up to contemporary imperial standards of representation.<sup>20</sup>

The pre-Damascus image of Saul is constructed in exclusively negative ways. He is depicted “seeking out” Christians and driven by a desire to inflict harm on the church; he is livid, malignant, violent, and “furiously enraged.” As Acts 26:9–11 reports, “By punishing them often in all the synagogues I tried to force them to blaspheme; and since I was so *furiously enraged* at them, I pursued them even to foreign cities.” The image of Paul pre-Damascus is a conspicuously un-Roman portrait. His life is characterized as one deprived of the values that are esteemed so highly in imperial representations of the period when Acts was composed.

The pivotal moment in Saul's life takes place while traveling on the road to Damascus, on his hunt for followers of “the Way.” Saul falls to the ground at the sight of a great light from heaven and hears Jesus' voice saying, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me (9:4)?” As a result, he is temporarily blinded and led by his traveling companions into Damascus where he is visited by Ananias, a visionary of Jesus who receives an insight into Saul's future, “he is an instrument whom I have chosen to bring my name before the Gentiles and kings and before the people of Israel; I myself will show him how much he must suffer for the sake of my name” (9:15–16). As a consequence, Paul is appointed as an ambassador of Jesus, one who is sent (26:15–18).

<sup>19</sup> As a general overview of Book 10 of Pliny's letters, the collection contains 124 letters, 73 of these are addressed from Pliny to Trajan, and 51 from Trajan to Pliny. The first 15 letters were written between 98 and 103 CE, while Pliny was in Italy; the rest of the collection was written when Pliny was the governor of Bithynia and Pontus, from ca. 110 to 112. See Carlos F. Noreña, “The Social Economy of Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan,” *American Journal of Philology* 128, no. 2 (2007): 240–41. Noreña has convincingly argued that Pliny the Younger's correspondences with Trajan serves, in addition to their purported role as official transaction of imperial concerns, as “vehicles for the self-representation and public image of both correspondents.” *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>20</sup> Eleanor Winsor Leach, “The Politics of Self-Presentation: Pliny's ‘Letters’ and Roman Portrait Sculpture,” *Classical Antiquity* 9, no. 1 (Apr., 1990): 14–39. See Goodman for a concise description of the clear ambivalence of Trajan's response. Goodman, *Roman World*, 327–28.

The nature of this sending is to Gentiles in order to grant forgiveness, a place among those who are sanctified, and to exhort them to “do deeds consistent with repentance” (26:20).<sup>21</sup>

The image of Paul’s life after the Damascus experience starkly contrasts with the life depicted pre-Damascus. The image of Saul as an “enraged” persecutor who is violently opposed to the church will serve as a foil for the later Paul who never again participates in such thuggish actions.<sup>22</sup> He becomes the hallmark of self-control and lucidity. Paul’s mission then becomes centered on extending the divine benefits to the nations and to transform them into “doers of good.”<sup>23</sup> Paul’s Damascus experience is paramount in his newfound lucidity, marked by speaking soberly and truthfully, able to fulfill his appointment of convincing others toward the civilizing faith in Jesus.

Saul’s role as an appointed mediator of divine gifts, or *beneficia*, begins to develop almost immediately after the Damascus experience. In Acts 11:27–30, as Barnabas and Saul are teaching in Antioch, prophets come down from Jerusalem and predict that there will be a severe famine over the entire world.<sup>24</sup> In response, the disciples decide that “according to their ability, each would send relief to the believers living in Judea; this they did, sending it to the elders by Barnabas and Saul” (11:29). This vignette contributes to a picture of the Christian community functioning as a benevolent society with trans-regional concerns, with Barnabas and Saul as their delegate brokers.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion on salvation to the Gentiles in Acts, see Jens Schröter, “Heil für die Heiden und Israel: zum Zusammenhang von Christologie und Volk Gottes bei Lukas,” in *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift für Eckhard Plümacher zu seinem 65* (eds. Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter; Boston: Brill, 2004), 285–308.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion on another potential foil in Acts and its relationship to history, see J. Brian Tucker, “God-Fearers: Literary Foil or Historical Reality in the Book of Acts,” *Journal of Biblical Studies* 5, no. 1 (2005): 21–39.

<sup>23</sup> Festus interrupts Paul as he continues to describe his vision on the road to Damascus, exclaiming, “You are out of your mind, Paul! Too much learning is driving you insane!” (26:24). As Lentz points out, there is great irony in Festus’s response since it was the pre-Damascus period of Paul’s life that was marked by insanity, while he is consistently portrayed after Damascus as being calm, collected, and quite sober minded. Thus, “Paul has converted not to madness but sanity.” John Clayton Lentz, *Luke’s Portrait of Paul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 83.

<sup>24</sup> Contrast this image with the following story of King Herod’s arrest of Peter and failure as a proper benefactor to the people of Tyre and Sidon (Acts 12). On the cultural significance of famines among Greeks and Romans, see Peter Garnsey and Isabelle Rozenbaum, *Famine et approvisionnement dans le monde gréco-romain: Réactions aux risques et aux crises* (Paris: Belles lettres, 1996).

<sup>25</sup> In the opening chapters of Acts, the community of believers is also depicted as a beneficent society, characterized by their unity in belief, possessions, and regard for each other. When Ananias and Sapphira both miraculously die as a putative punishment for their deceit, the lessons emerge that the Christian community needs to protect its identity as a benevolent

Soon after Barnabas and Saul deliver the relief funds to the communities in Judea, they go to Jerusalem and are called by the Holy Spirit while they are worshipping and fasting: “Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them” (13:2). Saul, Barnabas, and John are sent out after the laying on of hands to begin their divinely appointed mission, which takes them around Cyprus and beyond.

The visit to Cyprus is of paramount importance to the unfolding characterization of Saul – who is going to acquire the name “Paul.”<sup>26</sup> Upon departing from Jerusalem, Saul and his traveling companions set sail and travel throughout Cyprus “proclaiming the word of God in the synagogue of the Jews” (13:5). During this voyage, they come across a certain “magician” named Bar-Jesus, who is described as a “Jewish false prophet.” Together with this character, Barnabas and Saul are brought into the company of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, an “intelligent man” who “wanted to hear the word of God.”<sup>27</sup> Bar-Jesus is envisaged standing between the disciples and the proconsul trying to oppose them and to keep Sergius Paulus “from the faith.” It is precisely at this point in the narrative that Saul is referred to as “Paul,” acquiring the name he will be referred by throughout the rest of Acts.

Acts is the sole source of information about Paul’s change of names. It is surprising that the transition to this new name does not occur at the time of his call, but rather after encountering a high official in the provinces with the exact same name – *Paulos* (13:9). According to this episode, Paul’s namesake is the eminent Roman governor, Sergius Paulus. Hengel and others attribute this to the fact that Paul is here for the first time in a “pagan” environment as a missionary. According to Hengel, the absence of the name “Saul” in Paul’s letters may be due to the fact that the missionary to the Gentiles uses only his non-Jewish name in the letters, which may further indicate that the ancient royal name had now become unimportant to him, as was his descent from the tribe of Benjamin (Romans 11:1; Philipians

community. David R. McCabe, *How to Kill Things with Words: Ananias and Sapphira under the Prophetic Speech-Act of Divine Judgment* (Acts 4.32–5.11) (LNTS 454; London: Continuum, 2011). For an extended discussion of the cultural significance of the theme of unity in Acts, see Paul J. Achtemeier, “An Elusive Unity: Paul, Acts, and the Early Church,” *CBQ* 48, no. 1 (1986): 1–26; Alan J. Thompson, *One Lord, One People: The Unity of the Church in Acts in Its Literary Setting* (LNTS 359; London: T&T Clark, 2008). See also Steve Walton, “Primitive Communism in Acts? Does Acts Present the Community of Goods (2:44–45; 4:32–35) as Mistaken?” *Evangelical Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2008): 99–111; Alan C. Mitchell, “The Social Function of Friendship in Acts 2:44–47 and 4:32–37,” *JBL* 111, no. 2 (1992): 255–72.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion on Luke’s method(s) of characterization, see David B. Gowler, “Characterization in Luke: A Socio-Narratological Approach,” *BTB* 19, no. 2 (1989): 54–62.

<sup>27</sup> Christoph W. Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait of the Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith* (WUNT 108; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).



3:5).<sup>28</sup> There are several problems, however, in positing that this name change is not a Lukan emphasis, or even invention. For instance, the name “Paul” is extremely unusual in the Greek East among non-Romans and is simply never used among Jewish contemporaries, which Hengel himself acknowledges. Furthermore, the name Saul does not occur among Diaspora Jews.<sup>29</sup> Paul is a Latin name and, as such, further ties Paul to imperial standards of representation.

In this episode, Acts highlights Paul’s good qualities by *synkrisis*, a literary technique that develops characterization through the juxtaposition of two characters who can either be used to confer qualities from one to the other or can serve as contrasts.<sup>30</sup> This technique is used here to connect Paul

<sup>28</sup> Hengel, “The Pre-Christian Paul,” 31. For studies that compare and contrast the two images of Paul found in his letters and Acts, see David P. Moessner, *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul’s Claim upon Israel’s Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters* (New York: T & T Clark, 2012); Philipp Vielhauer, “On the ‘Paulinism’ of Acts.” Pages 33–49 in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (eds. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn; London: SPCK, 1968); Thomas E. Phillips, *Paul, His Letters, and Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009); Gregory E. Sterling, “From Apostle to the Gentiles to Apostle of the Church: Images of Paul at the End of the First Century,” *ZNW* 99, no. 1 (2008): 74–98; F. F. Bruce, “Is the Paul of Acts the Real Paul?” *BJRL* 58, no. 2 (1976): 282–305; Eric Franklin, *Luke: Interpreter of Paul, Critic of Matthew* (JSNTSup 92; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Odile Flichy, “The Paul of Luke, A Survey of Research.” Pages 18–34 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul’s Claim Upon Israel’s Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters* (eds. David P. Moessner et al.; trans. James D. Ernest; LNTS 452; London: T&T Clark, 2012); Daniel Marguerat, “Paul Après Paul: Une Histoire De Réception,” *NTS* 54, no. 3 (2008): 317–37; Stanley E. Porter, *Paul in Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001); Robert L. Brawley, “Paul in Acts: Aspects of Structure and Characterization,” in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1988* (Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers SBLSP 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988), 90–105; B. J. Koet, “Paul in Rome (Acts 28,16–31): A Farewell to Judaism?” in *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia 14; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 97–118; Christopher N. Mount, *Pauline Christianity: Luke-Acts and the Legacy of Paul* (NovTSup 104; Leiden: Brill, 2002); Christopher N. Mount, “Paul’s Place in Early Christianity.” Pages 90–115 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul’s Claim upon Israel’s Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters* (eds. David P. Moessner et al.; LNTS 452; London: T&T Clark, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> Martin Hengel, “The Pre-Christian Paul,” 31. Hengel notes that he “found only one later example in the great Aphrodisias inscription” of a Jewish man named Paul,” footnote 2, p. 51. Regarding the historicity of Paul’s change of name, Martin Hengel argues “the objection that Paul never mentions his complete three-part Roman name [does not] mean anything, since this usage was not always customary in Greek-speaking circles and went against the custom of Judaism and of early Christianity. The important thing for Christians was not the privilege of an earthly citizenship but the fact that they were brothers and sisters.” *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>30</sup> Another example of this narrative strategy appears in 11:22–26 as Barnabas is envisaged as a “good man, full of the Holy Spirit and of faith.” He is sent from the Jerusalem to the Christian community in Antioch presumably to oversee the mixing of different ethnic groups who are co-mingling and the growing number of believers. It says that when Barnabas “came and saw the grace of God, he rejoiced, and he exhorted them all to

favorably to the esteemed Roman official, Sergius Paulus, who bears qualities one would expect from a good governor; he is intelligent, accessible to his subjects, and eager to hear the word of God. As a result, Saul becomes Paul and convinces Sergius Paulus to become a believer. To say the least, a close relationship is forged between the two characters, a fact that is signaled beyond the observation of Paul's name change. Conversely, *synkrisis* is also used in this episode to develop a contrast between two types of religious associates, one a magician who tries to keep the governor from "the truth" and the other a Roman supporter preaching the "word of God." As such, Bar-Jesus provides a foil that brings out the admirable qualities of Paul.<sup>31</sup> In the end, Paul is depicted as a paragon of *pietas*, which is exemplified in his extermination of "bad religion" in opposing Bar-Jesus. Acts reports that when the proconsul sees Paul oppose the magician, "he believed, for he was astonished at the teaching about the Lord (Acts 13:12)." This episode contributes greatly to the narrative construction of Paul's post-Damascus public portraiture. That followers of Jesus not only possessed moral virtue but also promulgated it for their converts is a major message that the portrait of Paul seeks to convey.<sup>32</sup>

remain faithful to the Lord with steadfast devotion" (11:23). The positive characterization of Barnabas as one who bridges inter-regional developments within the church and who responds appropriately to the gifts of God also contributes to the unfolding characterization of Saul, whom Barnabas singles out by traveling to Tarsus to look for him and brings him back to Antioch to teach with in the church at Antioch for an entire year to "a great many people" (11:26). Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 92.

<sup>31</sup> The nature of the believers' power is brought into greater focus as other claimants of divine brokerage are brought into the narrative to serve as a foil. For instance, when Philip is in Samaria, he comes into contact with Simon, a local magician, who claimed to be someone great, identifying himself with the source of his power. Thus, according to the narrator, many were confused in honoring him as "the power of God that is called Great" (8:10; ὅτις ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). However, after Philip convinced Simon to become a believer, Simon continued to follow Philip around, for he was "amazed when he saw the signs and great miracles that took place" (8:13, θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας γινόμενας ἐξίστατο). After meeting Peter and John, Simon attempts to offer them money for the gift, which was given through the laying on of the apostles' hands (8:18). "Give me also this power so that anyone on whom I lay my hands may receive the Holy Spirit" (8:19, λέγων δότε καὶ μοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιθῶ τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνῃ πνεῦμα ἅγιον). Peter condemns Simon's request, perceiving such abilities as "God's gift," which cannot be purchased with money (8:20).

<sup>32</sup> Up to this point in the narrative, Acts has clearly focused on the civilizing effects of Saul coming to faith. The moral transformation that takes place in the transition from Saul to Paul parallels imperial claims that Rome's own authority is based on its moral superiority. D'Angelo recognizes there is a confluence of Roman ideology and Lukan apologetic; see D'Angelo, "The ANHP Question in Luke-Acts: Imperial Masculinity and the Deployment of Women in the Early Second Century." Page 60 in *A Feminist Companion to Luke* (eds., Amy-Jill Levine with Marianne Blickenstaff; New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

The question I wish to pose in bringing this section to a close is how the various details discussed up to this point relate to Acts' unique claim that Paul was a Roman citizen. Do these episodes narratively construct, explicate, distillate, or subvert a Roman identity for Paul? What is the composite portraiture that emerges in detailing (1) Paul's moral transformation after Damascus; (2) the generosity of Paul and his community in providing relief support during a famine; (3) Paul's Latin cognomen; (4) Paul's close association with a Roman official from Cyprus? The problem that has arisen in scholarship is that the discussion of Paul's citizenship has been restricted largely to historical questions to the neglect of other angles of analysis. Even if Acts is not inventing Paul's citizenship, it is certainly emphasizing it, which is clear from the fact that it is repeated on three separate occasions.<sup>33</sup> While the veracity of this claim has been heavily debated, there is simply not enough evidence to determine conclusively whether this reflects historical reality, source material, or Lukan invention.<sup>34</sup> It is my contention, however, that whether or not Paul was actually a Roman citizen, this further contributes to the political significance of Paul's public portraiture as it is constructed in the narrative.

The cumulative effect of these episodes that detail the process by which Saul becomes Paul serve the purpose of constructing a Roman image of Paul that conforms with broader patterns of provincial representation.<sup>35</sup> In the following section, I wish to further explicate how Acts' characterization of Paul emphasizes his Roman identity and shows him excelling in living up to the obligations placed on him by his citizenship, especially by demonstrating his civic generosity. Paul fulfills his civic obligations by acting as a patron to communities. Demonstrating Paul's Roman citizenship is a driving force in Acts' characterization, and his experience on the Damascus road helps him become a better citizen and activate his *Romanitas*.<sup>36</sup>

As Lentz points out, this is a part of epideictic oratory that seeks to provoke a response from the hearer to emulate the example of the person being honored, Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 66–67. See also Bruce W. Longenecker, "Moral Character and Divine Generosity: Acts 13:13–52 and the Narrative Dynamics of Luke-Acts." Pages 141–64 in *New Testament Greek and Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Gerald F. Hawthorne* (eds. Amy M. Donaldson and Timothy B. Sallows; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> Peter van Minnen, "Paul the Roman Citizen," *JSNT* 17, no. 56 (1995): 43–52.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Hengel, "The Pre-Christian Paul," 30–33.

<sup>35</sup> It is no coincidence that Roman colonies serve as important narrative setting throughout Acts, including Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Troas, and Philippi. *Ibid.*, 31–32.

<sup>36</sup> Jerome Neyrey, "Luke's Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts." Pages 276–79 in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed. Ben Witherington; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For a discussion of the gender dimensions of constructions of *Romanitas*, see Natalie Kampen, "Looking at Gender: The Column of Trajan and Roman Historical Relief." Pages 46–73 in *Feminisms in the Academy* (eds. Domna C. Stanton and Abigail J. Stewart; Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan

### Paul and the Patronage of Communities

“The word of God continued to advance and gain adherents” (Acts 12:24). These words introduce the Pauline mission in Acts, framing it in terms of a divinely sanctioned and propelled mission that is now expanding, through Paul’s travels, around the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Through the spread of “the word” in the second half of Acts, the message of Jesus continues to register progress. As the “word” grows (6:7; 12:24; 19:20), the readers and hearers know that the geographic and ethnic expansion of the people of God is being referred to. The narrative of Paul’s travels details the movement from Judea throughout the Roman world. In this mission of outreach to the nations, Paul is characterized as the principal proclaimer of the word.<sup>37</sup> He is the chief instrument in announcing God’s beneficent gifts that come through Jesus, an image that accords with cultural categories that would have been available to the author. I wish to move the overall discussion forward by analyzing Paul’s visit to three communities, in order to pay close attention to how they contribute to Acts’ fashioning of this public image.<sup>38</sup> What kind of relationship is envisaged between Paul and the various communities he tends to in Acts? How does this relationship further shape Paul’s public portraiture? Upon what contemporary models does this image depend? These questions will be addressed in the following section.

#### *Paul in Lystra (Acts 14)*

Paul’s so-called first missionary journey takes off after Cyprus and includes major stops at three significant Roman colonies: Pisidian Antioch, Iconium,

Press, 1995): “The emperor’s manliness is inextricably interwoven with his Romanness and his imperial rank, all three of which become descriptors for his ideal status and for his right to lead. In a sense he guarantees victory because he embodies Roman virtue as well as Roman power. The compositional relationships among scenes serve to demonstrate this nexus of power and virtue,” 57.

<sup>37</sup> As Danker claims, “St. Paul is the principal apostolic superstar in Luke’s narrative.” Fredrick W. Danker, “Graeco-Roman Cultural Accommodation in the Christology of Luke-Acts.” Page 403 in *1983 Seminar Papers: One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Meeting, December 19–22, 1983, the Loews Anatole, Dallas, Texas* (ed. Kent Harold Richards; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

<sup>38</sup> On the “public” nature of Paul’s image, see Mary Rose D’Angelo, “The ANHP Question in Luke-Acts”; Jerome H. Neyrey, “‘Teaching You in Public and from House to House’ (Acts 20:20): Unpacking a Cultural Stereotype,” *JSNT* 26, no. 1 (2003): 69–102. For a discussion of the public-private distinction in the Roman period, see Noreña, “The Social Economy of Pliny’s Correspondence,” 240–54.

and Lystra.<sup>39</sup> Throughout this cycle, the narrative devotes significant attention to Paul's ability to perform healings, which will prove to be of central importance to Acts' characterization. Just prior to Paul's fleeing Jewish-instigated hostilities in Iconium, Acts reports "So they remained for a long time, speaking boldly for the Lord, who testified to the word of his grace (τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ) by granting signs and wonders (διδόντι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα) to be done through them" (14:3). Here, bold speech and powerful demonstrations are explicitly linked together, serving a common purpose on behalf of the mission of the word.<sup>40</sup>

Upon entering Lystra, the reader is immediately introduced to a new character. "In Lystra there was a man sitting who could not use his feet and had never walked, for he had been crippled from birth" (Καὶ τις ἀνὴρ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λύστροις τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκάθητό χλωὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ὃς οὐδέποτε περιεπάτησεν, 14:8). The severity of his condition leaves no room for doubting the authenticity of the healing, as we are told that there is no strength in his feet; that he was crippled from birth; and that he had never walked. Paul notices him as he is speaking, "fixes his gaze" (ἀτενίσας) and "saw" (ἰδὼν) that he had faith to be healed. Paul orders him to stand on his feet, so the man leaps up and begins to walk.

This episode creates close links between the mission of Paul and Peter by closely paralleling an earlier healing story where Peter and John encounter a man disabled from birth, begging for alms in front of the temple gate (3:1–11).<sup>41</sup> In both stories, Peter and Paul look "intently" (ἀτενίσας) at the men and effectively cure them. The disabled men in both instances "jump up" (ἐξαλλόμενος 3:8; ἤλατο 14:10) and "walk around" (περιεπάτει 3:8; 14:10).

<sup>39</sup> For a general description of this episode, see Carsten Oerder, "Paulus in Lystra: Missionar, Wundertäter, Apostel." Pages 43–74 in *Das Paulusbild der Apostelgeschichte* (eds. Rudolf Hoppe and Kristell Köhler; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2009).

<sup>40</sup> All of the important characters in Acts are credited with miracles. According to Jervell this includes, "Peter in 3:1–10; (5:1–10); 9:32–35; and in 9:36–43; the twelve apostles in 2:43 and 5:12–16; Stephen in 6:8; Philip in 8:4–7; Barnabas in 14:3 and in 15:12; and, of course, Paul." Jacob Jervell, *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1984), 81, which makes special note that James, the brother of Jesus, is the one exception.

<sup>41</sup> See discussion in Chapter 1. F. F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 290; Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles; a Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 80–93. See Nelson P. Estrada for a discussion of Acts 12 as a sequence of rituals concerning status transformation, *From Followers to Leaders: The Apostles in the Ritual of Status Transformation in Acts 1–2* (JSNTSup 255; London: T&T Clark, 2004); Richard Bauckham, "James, Peter, and the Gentiles." Pages 91–142 in *The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul: Tensions in Early Christianity* (eds. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; NovTSup 115; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

The parallels continue as both stories proceed with the disciples deflecting the honors for the benefaction to God's own munificence, of which the disciples are merely mediators in Acts. Peter says, "You Israelites, why do you wonder at this, or why do you stare at us, as though by our own power or piety we had made him walk?... *To this we are witnesses.* And by faith in his name, his name itself has made this man strong, whom you see and know; and the faith that is through Jesus has given him this perfect health in the presence of all of you" (Acts 3:12–16, italics mine).<sup>42</sup>

While these healing stories share many of the same characteristics as other healing stories found in the Gospels and elsewhere, it is explicitly framed in Acts as an act of benefaction. This is set up from the beginning with the disabled man depicted as sitting before the temple gate, hoping to receive gifts of alms. Peter, however, proves not to be the typical temple attendee. Instead, he acts as an independent broker of divine power, who operates in the name of his divine patron on behalf of the disabled man.<sup>43</sup> After Peter miraculously heals him, he begins to direct his praise to God, recognizing the ultimate source of the apostles' power.<sup>44</sup> The language of benefaction is used explicitly with regard to the miracle of healing when on the following day, after Peter and John have been taken into custody, they stand on trial before a council of Jerusalem leaders, and are questioned about the previous day's events. Peter gives his defense before the temple authorities:

Rulers of the people and elders, if we are questioned today because of a *good deed* (εὐεργεσία) done to someone who was sick and are asked how this man has been healed, let it be known to all of you, and to all the people of Israel, that this man is standing before you in good health by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead (4:8–10).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the use of the parallel biographies of Peter and Paul for the purpose of identity construction, see Coleman A. Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative: Peter, Paul, and Recategorization in Acts and Early Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011); "Early Christian Identity Formation: From Ethnicity and Theology to Socio-Narrative Criticism," *CBR* 9, no. 2 (2011): 228–37; "Peter and Paul in Acts and the Construction of Early Christian Identity: A Review of Historical and Literary Approaches," *CBR* 11, no. 3 (2013): 349–65. See also Andrew C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective* (Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs; Waynsboro, GA: Paternoster, 2007).

<sup>43</sup> Douglas R. Edwards, *Religion & Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 108.

<sup>44</sup> Kindalee Pfremmer De Long, *Surprised by God: Praise Responses in the Narrative of Luke-Acts* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

<sup>45</sup> During Stephen's speech, he refers to Joseph's dealings with Pharaoh, the king of Egypt. Due to the enabling of God, Joseph was able to "win favor" and "show wisdom," which caused Pharaoh to appoint Joseph as ruler over Egypt and his own household (7:10).

Peter is conceived as a broker of divine beneficence on behalf of all who “call on the name of Jesus.” This serves to forge a patronal relationship between the apostles and the healed man, which is envisaged as he “clings” (*kratountos*) to Peter and John. That this healing event is construed as an act of benefaction is supported by the use of the term “εὐεργεσία,” language commonly used in public accolades for benefactors.

This episode serves as one of several instances in which demonstrations of power serve as the context in which a crowd gathers, and divides in their response.<sup>46</sup> While some are filled with “wonder and amazement” (θαμβους καὶ ἐκστάσεως) at what took place, others do not respond as positively (3:10). Peter addresses the divided crowd, asserting that the healing effect was not the product of their own power (δύναμις) or piety (εὐσέβεια) (3:12). Jesus serves as the principal agent of the beneficence of God. As 3:16 clearly asserts, “And by faith in his name, his name itself has made this man strong, whom you see and know; and the faith that is through Jesus has given him this perfect health in the presence of all of you” (3:16, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἶδατε, ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν). “Faith” refers to the type of relationship Peter seeks

Pharaoh, in turn, shows favor to Joseph, as well as his family, “Joseph’s family became known to Pharaoh.” Thus, rulers have shown kindness to God’s select representatives. This favorable situation, however, was volatile, and depended on whether the rulers had the proper knowledge of God’s agents. Therefore, when another king arose in Egypt, who did not know Joseph, nor his family, the favorable treatment stops. “The pharaoh at the time dealt craftily with our race and forced our ancestors to abandon their infants so that they would die” (7:19; φανερόν ἐγένετο τῷ Φαραῶ τὸ γένος [τοῦ] Ἰωσήφ). God is, in turn, portrayed as the deliverer of his people from the hands of oppressive rulers. In 7:34, God said to Moses, “I have surely seen the mistreatment of my people who are in Egypt and have heard their groaning, and I have come down to rescue them. Come now [Moses], I will send you to Egypt” (ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον, 7:34). The Exodus tradition, as recounted by Stephen in Acts, is the story of God working as liberator through Moses, to deliver the Israelites from the oppression of their Egyptian overlords (7:35). Jesus is cast in similar terms, as the prophet like Moses: “God will raise up a prophet for you from your own people as he raised me up” (προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ.) (7:37).

<sup>46</sup> At several key junctures in Acts, the favor of the crowds is shown to rest upon the apostles, demonstrating that they are not rabble rousers, but a peaceful and beneficent association that contributes to the well-being of the polis. When the captain of the temple and his entourage of police officers go to prevent Peter and his associates from teaching in the temple, even the temple authorities knew that the favor of the people rested on the apostles, and not themselves. Thus, they sent the police to receive the apostles without the use of violence, “for they were afraid of being stoned by the people” (ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαόν μὴ λιθοσθῶσιν.) (5:26). This serves as a significant narrative construct, as the apostles and their associates are pitted against the temple authorities.



to promote between Jesus and the man born disabled, as well as between Jesus and the Jerusalem audience. It presupposes familiar relationship models found between two humans, as well as between humans and celestial agents, modeled on the world of civic benefaction. For those who call “on the name” of a powerful benefactor, whether they be divine or human agents, one is choosing to relate to that person as a client, while they reciprocate by serving as the benefactor. This model is common for understanding divine–human relationships throughout the Graeco–Roman world. Gods bestowed benefits and recipients responded with praise and honor. Jews thought of God as a patron as a primary analogy of conceiving divine–human relations. Frederick Danker recognizes the degree to which the benefactor paradigm shapes this passage, as he argues,

Luke shows that Peter and John are mere instruments for the display of God’s beneficence that is authorized through appeal to the name of Jesus. The evangelist concludes the passage with Peter’s definitive statement concerning the one name: “Salvation is to be found in no other. In all the world there is no one else whom God has given to save us” (v. 12). Not all benefactors are saviors, but all saviors are benefactors. Yet not all saviors are chosen to confer God’s singular benefit of salvation. Jesus alone qualifies for the task. He is the Superstar of superstars.<sup>47</sup>

In light of the use of benefaction language and imagery in this story, one would rightly expect it also to be present in the parallel episode of Paul and Barnabas in Lystra. As was mentioned above, the similarities between the stories create an implicit link between the missions and identities of Peter and Paul, and certain expectations of apostleship. In 14:11, after seeing the disabled man get up on his feet to walk, the crowds began to shout in the Lycaonian language, “The gods have come down to us in human form!” Thinking Barnabas was Zeus and Paul, Hermes, the priests of the temple of Zeus brought oxen and garlands to the city gates and desired to offer sacrifices to the visiting gods.<sup>48</sup> The people of Lystra knew that if the gods had decided to pay them a visit, they must respond with proper honors. This reaction exploits a pattern already established in Acts of people responding in obeisance to great acts of benefaction. Such a response seems fitting considering the pervasive conception of gods as benefactors. Acts gives

<sup>47</sup> Danker, “Graeco–Roman Cultural Accommodation,” 40. See also E. M. Heen, “Radical Patronage in Luke–Acts,” *Currents in Theology and Mission* 33, no. 6 (2006): 445–58; Bruce W. Winter, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (First-century Christians in the Graeco–Roman World; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994).

<sup>48</sup> See Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* for a possible basis for Luke’s story.

particular attention to detailing how crowds respond to the powerful deeds of the apostles because it serves to focus the narrative on clarifying the categories they do and do not fill in the civic context. The reader is already prepared to judge the people of Lystra's response negatively because there is value placed on where praise is directed. The crowd conspicuously fails to regard Paul and Barnabas in an appropriate way and to acknowledge the ultimate source of their good deeds.

Although readers of Acts would likely interpret such healing stories as God's enactment of power and benevolence toward humans, this episode would also provoke speculation about the miracle worker's identity.<sup>49</sup> The response of the crowd in Lystra trying to make a sacrifice to Paul as Hermes and Barnabas as Zeus focuses the narrative on the identity of Paul as a special delegate who channels God's power to the human realm. This further develops Paul's own character as a delegate benefactor with the entire scene structured around the theme of benefaction. The crowd's response supports this interpretation at every turn as they seek to reciprocate the divine gift by expressing their gratitude to the gods. The audience of Acts would have understood such magnificent acts of healing as acts of benefaction.<sup>50</sup>

Paul's ensuing speech aims at untying the knot the crowd wraps itself up in. Tearing his robe and rushing out to the crowd, Paul pleads to the crowd to stop regarding them as gods. He asks, "Friends, why are you doing this? We are mortals just like you, and we bring you good news, that you should turn from these worthless things to the living God, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that is in them (καὶ λέγοντες ἄνδρες, τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε; καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἐσμεν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποι εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέειν ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντά ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, 14:15)." The speech develops into a polished argument that represents animal sacrifice as the product of misdirected human piety. In spite of this, Paul stands witness to the generosity of God as supreme benefactor, stating "and yet He did not leave Himself without witness, in that He *did good* (ἀγαθοῦργων) and gave you rains from heaven and fruitful seasons, satisfying your hearts with food

<sup>49</sup> Duane F. Watson, *Miracle Discourse in the New Testament* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 5; Rick Strelan, *Strange Acts: Studies in the Cultural World of the Acts of the Apostles* (BZNW 126; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004); John J. Pilch, *Visions and Healing in the Acts of the Apostles: How the Early Believers Experienced God* (Collegeville, MI: Liturgical, 2004).

<sup>50</sup> As Danker argues, "The impact made on Luke's Graeco-Roman public of the numerous miracles of healing requires no comment. Classification of these deeds in the category of extraordinary beneficence is mandatory. They would be expected of one who hopes to compete with Isis or Asklepios." Danker, "Graeco-Roman Cultural Accommodation," 400.

and gladness" (14:17). God is here characterized by God's supreme giving nature. Paul presents God as the ultimate benefactor and, by way of extension, himself as one of the principal channels of divine benefits.<sup>51</sup> The language of benefaction is used to describe the natural processes of rain and production.<sup>52</sup> Both of these natural processes, as well as the miracle of healing caused by Paul, are conceived as witnesses to these continuous benefactions of God. Acts describes that in spite of these deeds the people of Lystra were still barely restrained from sacrificing to them.<sup>53</sup>

The notion that God permitted the nations to "follow their own ways" parallels the statement later found in 17:30 that God "overlooked" the period of ignorance preceding the full revelations, which was now appearing. The level of ignorance, however, should not have been as extensive as it proved to be, for, according to the logic of the narrative, the way God is known through rain and harvest ought to have induced certain knowledge among all people and directed their devotion.<sup>54</sup> People who delight in receiving benefactions should be able to recognize their benefactor and respond with the appropriate praise.

Several factors could have served in motivating Acts' portrait of Paul as a chief mediator of divine benefaction to the provinces.<sup>55</sup> After all, as

<sup>51</sup> "This maneuver gives him opportunity to show that Paul is a superstar under the direction of the Supreme Superstar or Benefactor." *Ibid.*, 399. Danker further argues concerning the "booming voice," noting "The fact that it is a Septuagintalism does not alter the matter. Graeco-Roman auditors would recognize that Luke-Acts contained in places a goodly amount of odd Greek, but they would interpret this as part of Luke's expertise in communicating a tone of antiquity in a book that would be all the more persuasive because of its suggestion that the themes contained in it bridge the centuries. From the *Res Gestae* (I. 7. 45-46), it was known that Augustus associated his political interests with Roman respect for the values of antiquity. Luke's public would simply covert Semitic constructions into semantic patterns familiar to them from their own cultural experience. Biblical philological criticism can lack much of its potential interest when it fails to take account of this basic phenomenon." *Ibid.*, 399, footnote 41.

<sup>52</sup> As Danker argues, the use of this term explicitly defines God as benefactor. *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>53</sup> In addition to this episode, Paul is conceived as a benefactor in Acts 11 as he takes charge of the famine relief as a man of extraordinary power in Acts 19:11 and as a model of Jesus who in Acts 20:32 says that it is more blessed to give than receive.

<sup>54</sup> Bruce, *Acts*, 293. Bruce rightly points out that the belief in the providence of God in providing rainfall and harvest is a theme from the Israelite Scriptures, as is the conjunction of food and joy. He cites Ps. 4:7; Isa 25:6; and Eccl. 9:7 as examples, 294.

<sup>55</sup> For a comparison of miracles of Paul in Acts with references to miracles in Paul's letters, see Jervell, *The Unknown Paul*, 77-95, which concludes with the following claim: "If Acts gives the impression that Paul's life and activity were surrounded by miracles, such agrees with Paul's own claims. And this is true despite the fact that, in comparison with the quantity of miracles in Acts, Paul does not say very much about his miracles," 94, which lends support to the argument here in that this is a particular emphasis of Acts.

Woolf writes, “an act of euergetism, of civic munificence, could at the same time express [someone’s] loyalty to his imperial patron, his civic patriotism, his adherence to the highest cultural ideals of the empire and his pre-eminence among his own people.”<sup>56</sup> What seems particular to this period is that civic involvement and the bestowal of benefits on the populace carried a heightened capital for those fashioning a public image. Civic patronage was a requisite for those of elite status and, as a result, became a common theme in both visual and verbal forms of Trajanic-period representations. Fueling both acts and representations of civic benefaction was a competitive spirit that sought to advance the honor, rank, and privileges of the individual, their families, classes, and clans within society at large.

That Acts intended to highlight Paul’s own role as a benefactor, in order to extol his civic virtues, has been doubted by some. The primary reason for this is that the narrative more often than not shows that the product was civic division, not admiration. As Jervell argues, “The fact that Paul is threatened, persecuted, and mistreated runs like a red thread through the report. But suffering remains suffering and is no way lessened or muted by miracles... The way toward the kingdom of God is through much tribulation (14:22)... Luke speaks of assassination attempts against Paul (9:29; 23:12ff.); of persecution, torture, and stoning (14:5–6; 14:19–20; 16:16ff., 22ff.; 20:23; 23:12ff.)... In addition, the fact that in Acts Luke uses the word *πάσχω* only of Jesus and Paul (1:3; 3:18; 17:3; and 9:16) makes clear that for Luke Paul is the suffering figure par excellence.”<sup>57</sup> Danker, however, rightly notes that such antagonism was not foreign to the world of civic benefaction. He argues that Paul’s portrait conforms to popular notions of the “endangered benefactor.” As Danker claims,

Descriptions of ancient benefactors, especially those engaged in duties of state, frequently include references to the hazards of crises that they undergo on behalf of their people. The technical term for such courageous action in the line of duty is “*persistasis*,” derived from a Greek word, which was one of numerous synonyms used by ancient civic committees in reference to endangered benefactors.<sup>58</sup>

According to Danker, this also serves as the basic characterization of Jesus, as well.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, the depiction of Paul’s sufferings and persecution in Acts

<sup>56</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.

<sup>57</sup> Jervell, *The Unknown Paul*, 85.

<sup>58</sup> Danker, “Graeco-Roman Cultural Accommodation,” 37–39.

<sup>59</sup> See Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton, 1982), vi, for a discussion of the language of benefaction.

actually further supports the thesis that his authority is modeled on that of patronage. As John Nicols points out regarding Pliny's Panegyricus to Trajan, "Pliny remarks on several occasions that the *optimus princeps*... is one who accepts his position reluctantly, knowing full well the toils, troubles, difficulties and pains which await him, but having only one desire; namely to serve the state (*Pan.* 2, 4, 7, 21, 79)." <sup>60</sup>

This narrative cycle ends when Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch. Their mission is celebrated as a monument to God's good deed for how he "opened a door of faith for the Gentiles" (14:27). The magnitude of divine favors to those in Lystra does not prove that Jesus was perceived as a formal patron of the community there, but it certainly suggests a very strong relationship between the two parties. The *beneficia* Jesus conferred on the community indicates that Jesus and Paul were viewed as unofficial patrons of Lystra, even if this position was never formalized in the text. <sup>61</sup> Paul's service certainly would have merited such an honor, since it was critical at this time that a patron must also be a benefactor. In the end, through the dramatic presentations of the power and beneficence of the Christian deity being channeled through Paul, a patronal relationship is set up with the believers of Lystra.

### *Paul in Ephesus (Acts 19)*

Paul's longest stay in one place is Ephesus, a significant city in many ways in the Roman Empire, not the least for its status as a provincial capital. This episode continues to build on Acts' characterization of Paul as a mediator of divine benefits to the nations. Acts 19:11–12 gives a summary of Paul's giftedness: "God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were brought to the sick, their diseases left them, and the evil spirits came out of them." The pattern continues whereby God's supremacy is articulated in his power and benevolence in dispensing healing and exorcism benefactions through his ambassador to the needy. Paul's own role in this complex is elevated to exceptional status as one of the principal channels of this divine generosity. Through powerful demonstrations of divine munificence, Paul forges new relationships with yet another provincial city – Ephesus. The bond that this creates is evident as the narrative unfolds.

<sup>60</sup> John Nicols, "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities," *Hermes* 108, no. 3 (1980): 365–85, 383.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 385, makes an important distinction between formal and informal patrons.

Similar to the Lystra episode, Paul's display of power through healing incites a response from the crowd that allows the narrative to focus in on clarifying Paul's identity as a specially appointed delegate of God's beneficent mission to the provinces. Paul's healing miracles incite competitors, here, a group of Jewish exorcists, identified as seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva. They are portrayed attempting to coopt the name of Jesus to exorcise those who had evil spirits. As a result, however, the evil spirits talk back, saying, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you? (19:15)" Through a variety of strategies, Acts shapes the tradition of Paul in Ephesus to further explicate his special identity as God's delegate. Again, through *synkrisis*, Acts creates a contrast between Paul who successfully performs exorcisms in the name of Jesus, and the sons of a Jewish High Priest, who are unable to. This contrast plays an important part in characterizing Paul, not just as one among many potential benefactors, but as a specially appointed benefactor whose power cannot be matched by others. As a result, the Jewish exorcists are punished: "Then the man with the evil spirit leaped on them, mastered them all, and so overpowered them that they fled out of the house naked and wounded" (19:16). These events trigger a series of responses and religious reforms among the spectators in Ephesus.

When this became known to all residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks, everyone was awestruck; and the name of the Lord Jesus was praised. Also many of those who became believers confessed and disclosed their practices. A number of those who practiced magic collected their books and burned them publicly; when the value of these books was calculated, it was found to come to fifty thousand silver coins. So the word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed (Acts 19:17–19).

Paul serves as a disseminator of the civilizing ideals of the empire, especially in the sphere of religious piety. The message is that Christians serve the empire by introducing legitimate expressions of *pietas* while reducing illegitimate forms such as magic.<sup>62</sup> In considering the broader social, political, and cultural world in which Acts was composed and consumed, what would these miracle texts have meant to ancient readers and how does this language of power contribute to Paul's characterization?<sup>63</sup> As Duane Watson

<sup>62</sup> There are many counter-examples in Acts, including the temple of Artemis; see Rick Strelan, *Strange Acts: Studies in the Cultural World of the Acts of the Apostles* (BZNTW 126; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).

<sup>63</sup> Hans-Josef Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: The World of the Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003).

argues, “A central role of miracle in narrative is the creation of character and the manifestation of that character in the narrative. Miracles performed by a narrative character develop patterns of persuasion and amplify key themes.”<sup>64</sup> Through the miraculous displays, Paul forges bonds with locals in Ephesus, binding them to himself and the source of his power. As a result of his virtues manifest in civic life, Paul becomes friends with Asiarchs, who were also prominent figures in the civic life of the Greek East.<sup>65</sup> The implicit identification of Paul with a high-status group adds to the social and cultural capital of his public portraiture.<sup>66</sup> Paul’s visit to Ephesus brings this into sharp relief, as the narrative uses the miracle tradition to explicate the apostles’ identity. This is brought to the readers’ mind in the implicit comparison between Paul and the seven sons of Sceva.

Scholarship has long neglected the central role of miracles in Acts.<sup>67</sup> As Watson argues,

Partly due to the discomfort of addressing the question of the authenticity of miracles, much scholarship neglects the unfolding of power and miracle in the presentation and performance of the narrative of Acts. Instead, scholarship tends to treat miraculous material in Acts as an element of tradition and focuses on redactional issues of how Luke utilized the miracle tradition. This approach removes the miraculous features of the Lukan narrative from cultural and religious features of its environment, and distances them from the magical and supernatural world of antiquity.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Watson, *Miracle Discourse*, 8–9.

<sup>65</sup> C. Kavin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 46–47; Neyrey, “Luke’s Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts.” During the riot at Ephesus, “some of the Asiarchs, who were friends of his” sent messengers to him to prevent his engagement in the riot (19.31).

<sup>66</sup> A similar perspective is argued for Pliny by Carlos Noreña, “Self-Fashioning in the Panegyricus.” Page 35 in *Pliny’s Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World* (ed. P. A. Roche; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>67</sup> Watson, *Miracle Discourse in the New Testament*, 8–9.

<sup>68</sup> Watson further argues, “One contributing factor to this distancing is the desire to separate Acts from similar apocryphal texts, even though the role of miracle in both is similar in form and function. Another factor is the use of comparison from the history of religions approach, which is useful in highlighting patterns of characterization and topics but ignores the function of miracles in the narrative and rhetoric of Acts. As a result miracles in Acts are sanitized and subordinated to other aspects of the narrative, such as the mission to spread of the gospel, rather than explored as manifestations of power that shape the meaning of the text. Luke is understood to emphasize ethics and morality in Acts to keep the reader from being captured by the magical worldview of its Greco-Roman context.” *Ibid.*, 8–9.



In general, miracles in Acts conform to broader patterns of miracle discourse in the New Testament in that they imagine God as responsive to humans in contexts of disease or distress and that Jesus serves as the mediator of these benefits to humans, which is often coupled with responses of fear and/or belief.<sup>69</sup> Jervell notes that of the eleven miracle narratives in Acts, seven are attributed to Paul (13:4–12; 14:8–10; 16:16–18; 19:13–20; 28:1–6; 28:7–8).<sup>70</sup> In spite of the frequency by which miracles appear in the narrative, their importance to the overall purpose of Acts has been minimized by some. Jervell argues that miracles are insignificant, or secondary to the theological agenda of Acts: “We may omit the miracle stories without noting any perceptible change in theological content.”<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, Jervell argues that Paul’s miracles in Acts are rather insignificant to his overall characterization: “Luke does not base his description of Paul upon the apostle’s miracles.”<sup>72</sup> Such claims, however, have more to do with traditions of reading that downplay how integral the performance of miracles really was to the way power was attached to important humans in antiquity, which extends even to imperial discourse.<sup>73</sup> As Watson succinctly argues concerning the work of Todd Penner, “Luke is writing Hellenistic history, which aims to be plausible for the readers. Thus the manifestations of the numinous in [Luke’s] narrative must correlate with the values of the political, social, and cultural power structures.”<sup>74</sup>

Paul’s visit to Ephesus focuses on the potency of Paul’s healing power with its emphasis on the handkerchief detail, and the response of the seven sons who do not compare to Paul in this sphere. Casting out demons is closely related to miracles of healing because they often imagine the healing of the afflicted person when the demons are cast out. Paul’s travels to Lystra and Ephesus follow a similar pattern and serve a common purpose of displaying the power and benevolence of the Christian deity and to encourage divine–human relationships that are modeled on the patronage system, binding otherwise distant areas to the ever-expanding *imperium* of God. This

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>70</sup> Jervell, *The Unknown Paul*, 80.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, “The image of Paul in Acts is quite different from the image presented in both the undisputed and disputed Pauline epistles... Paul refers to his performance of miracles only five times, three directly and two indirectly. He directly refers to them to defend himself as a genuine apostle (2 Cor. 12:11–12), defend his gospel (Gal. 1:1–5), and legitimize his Gentile mission (Rom 15: 17–19); he also refers to them indirectly when he assumes the recipients of his letters know that miracles accompanied his preaching (1 Cor 2:4–5; 1 Thess 1:4–5).”

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

parallels Trajanic contributions to the concept of *imperium* of an increasingly interconnected network of different ethnic groups that pledges its loyalty to a powerful and benevolent world ruler who unifies together the empire's great diversity of geographies and ethnicities.<sup>75</sup>

*Paul in Malta (Acts 27)*

At the end of Paul's trial in Caesarea before the governor Festus, King Agrippa, and his wife, Bernice, unanimously declare Paul's innocence, saying, "This man is doing nothing to deserve death or imprisonment."<sup>76</sup> Agrippa confirms Paul's innocence in his report to Festus: "This man could have been set free if he had not appealed to the emperor." Thus, in spite of Paul's announced innocence before the governing officials, he is sent to Rome to stand trial before the Roman emperor, as a result of Paul's own appeal.<sup>77</sup> The narrative that ensues in Acts 27:1–28:14 extensively details the travel itinerary, conditions, and shipwreck that took place in Paul's transfer from Caesarea to Rome.<sup>78</sup> This narrative block serves as a fitting conclusion to the extended trial scenes that stretch from Acts 21–26 in furthering the theme of Paul's innocence, but, above all, Paul's *Romanitas*, and his status as a model citizen of the empire.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> One of the most frequent scene-types used to depict the emperor on the Column of Trajan is that of benefactor. For instance, Trajan is depicted distributing clemency on surrendered Dacian prisoners. Benefaction could be conceived in ways that were not restricted to building projects in the major urban centers or the distribution of money directly to the poor.

<sup>76</sup> Joshua P. Yoder, "Representatives of Roman Rule: Roman Governors in Luke-Acts," (Diss., Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University, 2012).

<sup>77</sup> David W. J. Gill, "Acts and Roman Policy in Judaea." Pages 15–26 in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. Richard Bauckham; The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995). For a discussion of the Roman trial of Paul, see Alfred M. Perry, "Acts and the Roman Trial of Paul," *HTR* 17, no. 2 (1924): 195–96; Marie Eloise Rosenblatt, *Paul the Accused: His Portrait in the Acts of the Apostles* (Zacchaeus Studies; Collegeville, MI: Liturgical, 1995); Brian Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody* (The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 3; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994); "The Lukan Defense of the Missionary Prisoner Paul," *TynBul* 44, no. 1 (1993): 193–96.

<sup>78</sup> F. Scott Spencer, *Journeying through Acts: A Literary-Cultural Reading* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 239–46.

<sup>79</sup> For a discussion of this passage, see Susan Marie Praeder, "Acts 27:1–28:16: Sea Voyages in Ancient Literature and the Theology of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 46, no. 4 (1984): 683–706; Loveday Alexander, "'In Journeyings Often': Voyaging in the Acts of the Apostles and in Greek Romance," in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (JSNTSup 116; ed. C. M. Tuckett; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 17–49; Daniel Marguerat, "Voyages et Voyageurs Dans Le Livre Des Actes et La Culture Gréco-Romaine," *Revue D'histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 78, no. 1 (1998): 33–59.

Travel serves as one of the most salient features in Acts' depiction of Paul, and as the narrative gets closer and closer to Rome, particular attention is given to the vision of Paul as master of the sea (see discussion on travel in [Chapter 1](#)). While setting sail for Italy, Paul is placed in the custody of Julius, a centurion of the Augustan Cohort, who is said to act kindly toward him, which is no surprise considering that nearly all Romans are depicted acting kindly toward Paul in Acts.<sup>80</sup> Julius permits Paul to go to his friends on shore to be taken care of while in Sidon (27:3). As William Ramsay aptly described the scene, Paul is playing "[t]he part of a true Roman on a Roman ship, looked up to even by the centurion, and in his single self the savior of the lives of all."<sup>81</sup>

The narrative depicts a long sea voyage with Paul gradually moving further and further away from the role of prisoner to that of ship commander. Taking the initiative, he addresses Julius and those operating the ship, "Sirs, I can see that the voyage will be with danger and much heavy loss, not only of the cargo and the ship, but also of our lives" (27:10). His warning, however, was not heeded, as "the centurion paid more attention to the pilot and to the owner of the ship than to what Paul said" (27:11). Eventually, however, due to a violent wind off the coast of Crete, called the "northeaster," the boat was thrown out of control. As a result of "being pounded by the storm so violently" (27:18), they were soon compelled to throw the cargo and tackle overboard, and all of their hope for being saved was lost. "When neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest raged, all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned" (27:20). Soon after this, Paul stands to address them as one whose chains have virtually disappeared and as the only one suited to revitalize their spirits during the hardship at sea. In the face of hunger and despair, Paul exhorts them to keep courage and instructs them to run the ship aground.

Men, you should have listened to me and not have set sail from Crete and thereby avoided this damage and loss. I urge you now to keep up your courage, for there will be no loss of life among you, but only of the ship. For last night there stood by me an angel of the God to whom I belong

<sup>80</sup> Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 158; Arnold Ehrhardt, *The Acts of the Apostles: Ten Lectures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), 124. For a discussion of places of custody as narrative settings, see Matthew L. Skinner, *Locating Paul: Places of Custody as Narrative Settings in Acts 21–28* (SBL Academia Biblica 13; Leiden: Brill, 2003); Matthew L. Skinner, "Unchained Ministry: Paul's Roman Custody (Acts 21–28) and the Sociopolitical Outlook of the Book of Acts." Pages 79–95 in *Acts and Ethics* (ed. Thomas E. Phillips; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005).

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 94.

and whom I worship, and he said, “Do not be afraid, Paul; you must stand before the emperor, and indeed, God has granted safety to all those who are sailing with you” (27:23–24).

Paul’s promise of protection is put to the test on a subsequent day when the sailor suspected they were getting close to land and fearful they would crash into rocks. As the sailors made an attempt to escape from the ship to save their lives, Paul heeded a warning to the centurion and his accompanying soldiers, “Unless these men stay in the ship, you cannot be saved” (27:31). Eventually they approach land just as Paul had predicted. Meanwhile, the sailors attempt to escape the ship in smaller boats so as to navigate to shore in safety, but Paul cautions the centurion and soldiers that unless they stay in the ship they cannot be saved (27:31). This is an extension of the angel’s message that it is by virtue of their proximity to Paul that their safety is ensured. Thus, Paul continues to broker the gifts of God to his fellow travelers.

The significance of this scene may be lost to most readers, but when brought into conversation with the Column of Trajan, important dimensions surface and the politics of Paul’s public portraiture come into sharp relief. In scene xxvi, a Roman soldier is depicted successfully fording a river while carrying his equipment and clothing on top of his shield above his head (scene xxvi; see [Figure 11](#)).



11. Scene xxvi: Roman soldier successfully fording a river.

Throughout the Column's spiraling narrative, *Romanitas* is constructed by detailing the successful control of waterways by Romans, whether by bridge construction, fording rivers, or nautical travel. The obverse of this is that Dacians are depicted as universally impotent in being able to navigate waterways. Soon after the scene of the Roman soldier successfully fording the river, another scene appears of a failed water crossing by Dacian warriors, who appear drowning and gasping for air (scene XXXI; see Figure 12).

Trajan himself exercises such power as the singular embodiment of *Romanitas*. He is esteemed in the reliefs as a master at sea serving as the helmsman who steers the Romans to victory. Meanwhile, military officials and legionaries serve as his oarsmen, and horses are transported on a separate barge. The process of imperialism is able to keep moving forward with Trajan in control at the rudder (scene XXXIV; see Figure 13).

Paul's experience on the island of Malta is narrated in two back-to-back episodes that seek to explicate the nature of his civilizing mission and to characterize him as a powerful benefactor. What is shocking is how explicit the narrative is in contextualizing Paul's visit in these terms. The people of Malta are referred to here unambiguously as βάρβαροι (barbarians), which, according to the prominence barbarians play on the Column of Trajan, one can fully expect that their purpose here too is to clarify and enhance Paul's *Romanitas*. The first episode describes Paul gathering a bundle of brushwood to feed the fire the hospitable Maltans had built to relieve the shipwrecked survivors from the rain and cold. As he is placing the brushwood on the fire, a viper unexpectedly leaps out from the heat and fastens itself on his hand. The islanders interpret this as Justice taking vengeance on a guilty man who escaped the judgment of the sea. When Paul does not swell up nor die, they change their mind about him and begin to say he is a god. Once again, the identity of Paul is put into question following a miraculous occurrence. Paul possesses complete control over his own body, detailed in the survival of the shipwreck, as well as his imperviousness to the poisonous snake.<sup>82</sup>

The second episode is juxtaposed to this by introducing a leading citizen on the island, named Publius, who treated Paul hospitably for three days.<sup>83</sup> Paul visits Publius's father who is "sick in bed with fever and dysentery" (28:8). Paul is able to heal him by praying and putting his hands on him.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See extended discussion of this scene in Chapter 5 and how it relates to both *Romanitas* and standards of masculinity in antiquity.

<sup>83</sup> Joshua W. Jipp, *Divine Visitations and Hospitality to Strangers in Luke-Acts: An Interpretation of the Malta Episode in Acts 28:1–10* (NovTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>84</sup> Geir O. Holmås, *Prayer and Vindication in Luke-Acts: The Theme of Prayer within the Context of the Legitimizing and Edifying Objective of the Lukan Narrative* (LNTS 433; London: T&T Clark, 2011).





12. Scene XXXI: Dacians drowning from unsuccessful water crossing.

As a result, all of those on the island afflicted with diseases come to Paul and are cured. In exchange for services rendered, the natives bestow many honors on them and send them away with all the necessary provisions. The image of Paul that emerges from these episodes is that of benefactor and



13. Scene xxxiv: Trajan as helmsman.

broker of God to a barbaric island as part of the civilizing vocation of Paul to barbarians and provincials alike.<sup>85</sup>

That Luke intended to depict Paul as setting up a trans-regional patronage network is based on the observation that he confers benefactions on the community at Malta that are similar to those conferred in Lystra and Ephesus,

<sup>85</sup> Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2006), 269–70. “In this climactic story the Christian faith and community come into their own as benefactor to the Roman Empire. Luke saw the church as a means of affirming what was good in Roman life and as an instrument for enhancing, rather than condemning, the process and progress of civilization. Ancient leaders shared with their gods the titles of ‘savior’ and ‘benefactor.’ Repeated references to ‘salvation’ (variously rendered by RSV) point to the locus of true rescue. Successful encounter with ‘barbarians’ evinces the civilizing power of the faith. Paul works miracles in 27.1–28.10, but not in connection with mission. He is a benefactor to the pagans aboard the ship, Publius, and other Maltese people... Paul on Malta does not appear to be a prisoner and remains free until he reports to Rome... The story ends in the imperial capital. Christians will find their earthly lodgings within this realm.” See additional notes on benefaction in Pervo, *Dating*, which concludes, by saying, “There is no need to argue that the language of benefaction belongs to the civic and moral world of Hellenism. My argument is rather that its appearance in Luke and Acts is characteristic of a later era when Christians were beginning to express their moral convictions in the language of the general culture.” See also Richard I. Pervo, *Luke’s Story of Paul* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 93.



where he was clearly depicted as a benefactor. Furthermore, benefaction language is explicitly used to describe his generous acts, which indicates that the relationship was essentially patronal, even if Paul is not regarded as a formal *patronus* of the city.<sup>86</sup> The narrative construction of Paul's public portraiture comes to an end in Rome. This is a fitting end place in light of the discussion above. Paul's virtue and innocence have been clearly established. Readers have grown to trust Roman justice as the only hope for peace and security in the world. He is in holding, waiting for a proper trial governed by Rome's high standards of justice. Rome is constructed as a potentially safe place for Christians.<sup>87</sup> As Lentz points out, "one can almost forget that Paul is a prisoner at all. As Paul arrives in Italy, greeted by the Christians who come to welcome him, the reader receives the impression that the Roman soldiers are there to escort an arriving dignitary, not to guard a prisoner!"<sup>88</sup> There is much debate concerning the significance of Paul's house arrest in Rome. On

<sup>86</sup> As Danker argues concerning the representation of Paul in Acts 27 in, "Graeco-Roman Cultural Accommodation," 403. "In his climactic presentation of Paul's careers as a philanthropist entrusted for outreach to the world with the Gospel concerning the Great Benefactor, Luke shows how Paul undergoes great danger and is responsible for the rescue of a great number of people (Acts 27)... After tossing in a storm for two weeks Paul invites the crew to dinner (27:34). With gestures reminiscent of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Luke 9:12–17), in front of all he gave thanks to God (Acts 27:35). This action signifies that all attention is to be focused on God as Supreme benefactor, and the entire depiction of the terrors of the deep serves to enhance that portrait. At the same time the apostolic superstar's piety is affirmed. The residents of Malta, who had themselves assumed the role of benefactors (28:2), take an opposite view after Paul is bitten by a venomous snake. Not finding their negative perceptions confirmed, they protected themselves against any adverse reaction from powers that were beyond their reckoning and without hesitation referred to Paul as a deity or divine man. As a centurion named Julius had done earlier (27:1–3), a prominent man named Publius showered Paul with kindness (28:7). Paul reciprocated his benefactions by healing Publius' father-in law (verse 8). Again Paul's piety is highlighted; in acknowledgement of the Supreme Benefactor, he prays as he lays hands on the sick man. Verse 10 is true to the Hellenistic spirit of the scene: the numerous heals are reciprocated with 'numerous awards' (*pollois timais*)... The repeated interplay in Acts 27–28 of philanthropic thematic at various social levels is further indication that Luke's primary paradigm for understanding the significance of Jesus is the culturally embedded phenomenon of benefaction and reciprocity. Of all human benefactors Jesus is the greatest, second only to God, Supreme Benefactor."

<sup>87</sup> It is my contention that this is all informed in response to Roman imperial propaganda during the reign of Trajan, which boasted of Rome as being the home of peace and the emperor a paragon of justice. These are the types of expectations one would expect in a period where the emperor was seen as a champion of justice and the builder of a world renowned basilica known to primarily host trials. See [Chapter 2](#) for a description of Basilica Ulpia.

<sup>88</sup> Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 157.

the one hand, he is still under guard. On the other hand, he is given a high degree of freedom and not seen as a threat.<sup>89</sup>

### The Political Significance of Universalism in Acts

The studies that have sought to explicate the full dynamics of Acts' apologetic aims have gravitated toward those scenes that feature Paul on trial giving his defense, which creates the impression that it is only with these scenes that the designation "apologetic" applies. In light of recent scholarship discussed in [Chapter 1](#), it is a rather problematic assumption that Acts is only being apologetic in those sections where defensive discourse is at play. Those episodes that feature Paul performing other roles could equally serve the text's political purposes. Therefore, the sections above focused on a set of texts that heretofore have been neglected in discussions of Acts as apologetic, demonstrating that the sheer scope of material one can approach in understanding Acts' apologetic interests could be both broadened and deepened considerably.

The benefactor paradigm is prevalent in Acts in characterizing the power and benevolence of the Christian community. Jesus is presented as the apotheosized ruler of the world who dispenses a wide variety of *beneficia* to his subjects, including salvation, healing, peace, and freedom. Paul and the apostles are elected to extend Jesus' patronage to all, with the narrative focusing on provincial communities either entering into or rejecting this divine-human bond. Paul is depicted in Lystra, Ephesus, and Malta as engaging in public displays and discourses of munificence, demonstrating superiority in this sphere. That is to say Acts fashions Paul's public portraiture

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 167. As Colleen M. Conway reminds us, "He welcomes large numbers of visitors into his own lodging, and as the closing line of the narrative relates, speaks to them with 'all boldness and without hindrance' (28.31)." Colleen M. Conway, *Behold the Man Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 135. See also Michael Labahn, "'Boldly and without Hindrance He Preached the Kingdom of God and Taught about the Lord Jesus Christ' (Acts 28.31). Paul's Public Proclamation in Rome as the Finale of a Shipwreck," in *Christians as a Religious Minority in a Multicultural City: Modes of Interaction and Identity Formation in Early Imperial Rome* (JSNTSup 243; eds. Jürgen Zangenberg and Michael Labahn; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 56–76; David P. Moessner, "'Completed End(s) ings' of Historiographical Narrative: Diodorus Siculus and the End(ing) of Acts," in *Die Apostelgeschichte Und Die Hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift Für Eckhard Plümacher Zu Seinem 65. Geburtstag* (eds. Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter; Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity AGJU 57; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 193–221; Jacques Dupont, "La Conclusion Des Actes et Son Rapport À L'ouvrage de Luc." Pages 359–404 in *Les Actes Des Apôtres: Traditions, Rédaction, Théologie* (ed. Jacob Kremer; BETL 48; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979).

according to contemporary trends in Roman imperial representations. For those who respond *in gratia*, they enter into a network of believers centered on a divine ruler who exchanges gifts for praise. While the depiction of benefaction was not a new thing, there was at the time of composition a renewed emphasis on the display of a supposedly traditional morality in this area. The patronage model provides an interpretive key for understanding Acts' presentation of Paul. Acts capitalized on the fact that Christians did for their fellow citizens what the emperor did for all. Acts fashions a public portrait of Paul that conforms to Roman imperial standards of representation amplified during the reign of Trajan, in order to forge a place for "the Way" within the Roman Empire and to depict the mission of God in the language of Roman power. As such, Acts' depiction of Paul's travels participates within contemporaneous cultural and political discourses that construct a global imaginary that mimics, even perfects, Trajanic ideals of the *patria* of an increasingly interconnected network of different ethnic groups that pledges its loyalty to a powerful and benevolent world-ruler who unifies together the empire's great diversity of markets, languages, and people groups.<sup>90</sup> As Bennett argues,

Trajan alone developed the principle of the *imperium*, a conscious policy of internal trade within a commonwealth of nations, firmly protected through a well-trained and positioned army. His successor, Hadrian, merely inherited this tradition wholesale and brought it to its logical conclusion... To Trajan, then, belongs the praise for bringing the developing principate to its zenith, and the embryonic *imperium* to its nascence. As such, he was assuredly Trajan, *Optimus Princeps*.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> As Moxnes argues in "Patron-Client Relations," 245. "A vivid illustration of this attitude is found in several of the speeches of Dio Chrysostom, a famous rhetor and philosopher who is of particular interest to us since he was almost a contemporary of Luke. Dio belonged to a rich family from the town of Prusa in Asia Minor and served both as a benefactor within that town and as a broker between it and various emperors. Therefore, he provides an excellent illustration of social relations within the RE, seen from the point of view of the rich elite (Jones 1978). In several of his speeches he portrays the ideal king, believed to be the emperor Trajan. He gives a picture of the emperor as a patron who acted on the basis of "friendship," not impartiality... In Oratio 44 Dio shows how the emperor ruled the empire and the cities in Asia Minor that were in "alliance" with Rome by personal benefactions. These benefactions were secured through brokers and mediators, one of whom was Dio Chrysostom himself [others included provincial governors, centurions, etc.], referencing C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 105–14.

<sup>91</sup> Julian Bennett, *Trajan: Optimus Princeps* (2nd ed.; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 213.

Acts shows how Paul contributes to this new world vision. As such, Paul is presented as an *optimus civis*, closely following the example set by the *optimus princeps*.

Scholars have long noted that Acts places a distinct emphasis on universal claims and aspirations.<sup>92</sup> After all, the narrative follows the apostles' restless movement from city to city, starting in Jerusalem and ending in the empire's capital city, Rome. A few scholars have similarly sought to explain the universal aspirations of Acts with an eye on imperial discourse. One of the best examples of this comes from Francois Bovon, who published a 1995 study, "Israel, the Church and the Gentiles in the Twofold Work of Luke."<sup>93</sup> Bovon questions what connection the universal mission of the Church in Acts has to do with Roman imperialism. He acknowledges that from as early as the Hellenistic period, "universalist accents" are perceivable in classical texts, and in Roman imperial rhetoric, as early as Augustus.<sup>94</sup> He gives several Augustan examples, including the prophecy of Venus to Aeneas who promises a "dominion without end," which will not be restricted by time periods nor distances.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, Bovon shows how Rome maintained within its own founding myths, as recorded by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an international role and identity, with Romulus inviting foreigners to settle in the future city. While Bovon recognizes that the universalism of Luke-Acts is in line with both the Septuagint and early Christian missionary discourses, he concedes that this does not necessarily preclude

<sup>92</sup> Loveday Alexander, "Mapping Early Christianity: Acts and the Shape of Early Church History," *Int* 57 (2003): 163–75; Loveday Alexander, "In Journeying Often", 17–49. See also James M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon." Pages 483–544 in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*, vol. 2, *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (eds. David W.J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994); Hans Conzelman, *The Theology of St. Luke* (1961; trans. Geoffrey Buswell; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982). As Danker notes, "Luke's general fondness for the adjective 'all' is consonant with his perception of the universal outreach of God in Jesus." Danker, "Cultural Accomodation," 36.

<sup>93</sup> Francois Bovon, "Israel, the Church and the Gentiles in the Twofold Work of Luke," in *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives* (trans. Jane Haapiseva-Hunter; Princeton Theological Monograph Series 36; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1995), 82–87.

<sup>94</sup> Supporting his claims about Domitian he writes: "It is significant that Domitian built the immense complex of his palace in an outward direction, toward the sea (Ostia) and the provinces of the Roman empire." *Ibid.*, 209, footnote 1.

<sup>95</sup> Quote from *Aeneid* 1:275–79 in Bovon "Israel, the Church and the Gentiles," 82, using Loeb trans. 1916. In addition, Bovon includes the quote from Horace, "the ancient ways whereby the Latin name and might of Italy waxed great, and the fame and majesty of our dominion were spread from the Sun's western bed to his arising. While Caesar guards the state, not civil rage, nor violence, nor wrath that forges swords, embroiling hapless towns, shall banish peace." Quote from *Odes* 4:15:13–20 in Bovon 82, using Loeb trans. 1978.

the possibility that ancient Roman or Greek universalism may also explain Luke's universalism.<sup>96</sup>

Bovon's main claim is that the vision in Acts reflects pretensions of Rome that were peaking during the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE).<sup>97</sup> He references a selection of material expressions of this imperial claim, including the new port at Ostia and the *Domus Flavia*, the house of Domitian, which looks outward toward the provinces.<sup>98</sup> Bovon considers what these observations indicate about Luke's attitude toward the Roman Empire.<sup>99</sup>

There is much to commend Bovon's study, most of all, his diachronic approach to the Roman Empire and the seriousness by which he seeks to situate Acts within a particular political complex. In the end, however, he may be more influential for having helped frame the question, rather than resolve it. His proposal, for instance, that the Roman pretention to claim universal control peaked under Domitian actually applies much more to the Trajanic context. The material expressions of this imperial ideal that Bovon mentions also do not support his conclusions as easily as he references them. After all, the renovations made to the port at Ostia under Domitian do not compare in size and scope to the monumental harbor built there by Trajan, completed in 113 CE. Furthermore, a Domitianic context fails to accommodate for the largely amiable relationship Acts constructs

<sup>96</sup> François Bovon, *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 36; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1995), 85. On the origins and ethics of Luke's universalism, see David L. Balch, "Accepting Others: God's Boundary Crossing According to Isaiah and Luke-Acts," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 36, no. 6 (2009): 414–23; John D. Davies, "Inclusion in The Acts of the Apostles," *ExpT* 124, no. 9 (2013): 425–32; David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 138; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

<sup>97</sup> Bovon, *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives*, 110, poses a related question, "What connection is there between the Christian vocation *gentium* and this incorporation of foreign peoples in the Roman structures?" For a discussion on the relevance of Claudius to the history of early Christianity, see F. F. Bruce, "Christianity under Claudius," *BJRL* 44 (1962): 309–26.

<sup>98</sup> Bovon, *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives*, 82.

<sup>99</sup> "Lukan universalism was neither accommodation to Rome nor a polemic against Rome. But it could become either of these. In the eventuality of a positive commitment to the Gospel on the part of Rome, Luke felt that harmony between the Church and the Empire could arise. On the other hand, if Rome betrayed its function in salvation history, then the Church should interpret Luke's theology in an apocalyptic sense against Rome. Official positions are not definitely fixed, for it is not an abstract solution which Luke has elaborated, but a relational one which is to depend upon the response of the Gentiles... if the power of Rome should extend beyond the limits fixed for it by the order of salvation history, that is to say, if it forgets its temporary function, Christian universalism will become immediately active and polemical, as a weapon waiting to be used in the fight against the Roman ideology of peace and universal power." *Ibid.*, 85–86.

between its protagonists and imperial officials. There seems to have been an overwhelmingly negative assessment of the reign of Domitian among both Christian and non-Christian authors. In short, it was not a time you looked to Rome and its chief official for security.

Surprisingly, very few scholars have picked up the questions Bovon's study raises. One of the most significant attempts has been made by Gary Gilbert who focuses on how the depiction of Jesus' ascent to heaven is cast in the language of Roman imperial propaganda, specifically the *apotheosis* of emperors, such as Augustus.<sup>100</sup> From Gilbert's perspective, Acts is making a rather profound theo-political claim that Jesus is the true ascended Lord over and against Caesar. Gilbert further extends his argument to Lukan universalism in Acts 2, making the case that the Table of Nations mimics imperial lists, such as the *Res Gestae*, in an attempt to articulate the universal supremacy of Jesus above and beyond anything Rome could claim for itself. The major shortcoming of Gilbert's arguments, however, is his primary dependence on Augustan period examples, which, while they may be illustrative for Acts, pre-date the composition by roughly 100 years. If Gilbert took into consideration diachronic developments that happened between the reign of Augustus and the composition of Acts, he may have noticed that Arabia is first incorporated into the *imperium Romanum* during the reign of Trajan and also appears as one of the more surprising toponyms in the list of nations in Acts 2:9–11.<sup>101</sup>

Laura Nasrallah has since sought to contextualize Paul's travels to Greek cities in the second half of Acts within the political and cultural discourses of the second sophistic circulating during the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian (117–138 CE).<sup>102</sup> Nasrallah posits that Paul's travels between cities discursively produced a kind of Christian empire parallel to the Panhellenion of Hadrian.<sup>103</sup> Nasrallah claims "Paul's travels, especially to cities in the Greek east, resonate with the logic and functions associated with the creation and

<sup>100</sup> Gary Gilbert, "Roman Propaganda and Christian Identity," Pages 233–256 in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (eds. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele; Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series no. 20; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

<sup>101</sup> The kingdom of the Nabataeans was annexed during the second Dacian War (105–106) and became the province of Arabia, which was then controlled by a governor and a legion.

<sup>102</sup> Nasrallah attempts to situate Acts within the literary world and cultural complex of the second sophistic. "The Acts of the Apostles, Greek Cities, and Hadrian's Panhellenion," *JBL* 127, no. 3 (2008): 539–40.

<sup>103</sup> The Panhellenic league consisted of a minimum of twenty-eight cities located in Achaia, Asia, Crete, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Thrace. It is only mentioned in a few literary sources: Cassius Dio 69.16; Pausanias *Descr.* 18.9 (which does not refer to the Panhellenion, but to a temple dedicated to Hera and Zeus Panhellenios). Epigraphic materials serve as

promotion of city leagues. The author of Luke-Acts, likely writing in a city of the Greek East such as Antioch or Ephesus, configures a Christianity that fits within the superior aspects of Greek culture and cities under the Roman Empire.”<sup>104</sup> Nasrallah references Aelius Aristides’ description of an empire of cities in support of this claim.

When were there so many cities on continents or on the seas, or when have they been so thoroughly adorned? Who then ever made such a journey, numbering the cities by the days of his trip, or sometimes passing through two or three cities on the same day, as it were through avenues? Therefore those former men are not only greatly inferior in the total extent of their empire, but also where they ruled the same lands as you, each people did not enjoy equal and similar conditions under their rule, but to the tribe which then existed there can be counterpoised the city which now exists among them. And one would say that those had been kings, as it were, of deserts and garrisons, but that you alone are rulers of cities.<sup>105</sup>

Although the passage was written decades after the death of Hadrian, Nasrallah argues that it participates in the “very type of geographical thinking instituted by Hadrian and mimicked in Acts.”<sup>106</sup>

While I greatly admire the contributions Nasrallah makes in pushing forward Bovon’s proposal and refocusing the political dimensions of Acts, I find a number of problems with the thesis proposed. The image of Paul’s mission and travels in Acts is a lot less developed from what we know about Hadrian’s Panhellenion. There is nothing exclusively Hadrianic about the image of Paul’s movement from city to city; nor is there the same kind of relationship forged between cities in Acts, compared to the diplomatic relationships that constituted the Panhellenion. Paul does not attempt to foster diplomacy between city-states. Rather, Acts better reflects the discourses of empire circulating before the Panhellenion was fully established, but much more closely aligned with Trajan’s work of linking otherwise distant locals to himself through benefaction into a common *patria*. While Nasrallah recognizes that there were “other emperors” who helped stimulate the process that Aristides celebrates, the argument is still too narrowly attributed to the

the main source of information for the Panhellenion, which come mostly from Greece. Nasrallah. *Ibid.*, 534–35.

<sup>104</sup> Laura S. Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 88.

<sup>105</sup> Aristides, “Roman Orations,” 93.

<sup>106</sup> Nasrallah, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 541–42.



hand of Hadrian.<sup>107</sup> In addition, while Nero and Hadrian are regarded as the two quintessential philhellenic emperors, there was plenty of attention directed to the Greek East by other emperors, although their agendas varied. Thus, the fact that the Panhellenion shares a similar geographical scope as Acts does not necessarily serve as a support for her argument.

After the death of Augustus, the borders of the empire were more or less fixed, stretching from Spain to Mesopotamia, due to little expansionistic interests and efforts of his successors. This changed, however, during the reign of Trajan, when the boundaries of the empire were extended to their greatest extent through his expansionistic military program, which grew out of this new conception of his *imperium*. Similarly, the spread of the word of God to new locals in Acts can be seen as an expansionistic program, produced by Paul's movement from location to location as an ambassador of Jesus. Acts mimics the expansionistic ideals of the time and fashions Christianity as a movement that reifies and contributes toward this new global imaginary. The ever-expanding sphere of Roman rule is comparable to the expanding circle of pious devotees unified under the rule of the single sovereignty of Christ. The realm of control is described as rapidly expanding across the *oikoumené* and reflects the progressive incorporative policies and ideology initiated under Trajan. Acts mimics the expansionistic ideals of the time and fashions Christianity as a movement that reifies and contributes toward this new global vision.

Paul's mission around the eastern provinces enabled an informal system of divine patronage to function across vast distances and provided subjects with indirect access to their divine benefactor through brokers like himself. Paul's travels are intelligible as a method for the creation and maintenance of these patronal relationships. The patronage network created through Paul's travels in Acts produces a Christian parallel to the new world order being imagined and discursively constructed during the reign of Trajan. Pliny and others present benefaction as the principal means by which distant lands are bound together under a single *patria* governed by Trajan. Acts mimics the logic of Trajanic conceptions of empire by replicating this sentiment and depicting Paul in various locations recruiting the loyalty of subjects to the one true God through powerful displays of the Deity's power and benevolence. The sphere of Trajan's rule is presented as a coalition of cities that benefit from the emperor's paternalism and reciprocate loyalty for *beneficia*.

<sup>107</sup> Nasrallah, "Acts of the Apostles," 544. Nasrallah admits that "Although the precise origins of the Panhellenion are unclear, Hadrian himself in 131/132 seems to have founded this league of cities headed by Athens."

Similarly, in Acts God's ever-expanding rule extends from city to city, creating divine-human relationships modeled on the emperor's relationship with the provinces.

While the studies reviewed above shine varying degrees of light on the question of how Acts' universal aspirations relate to imperial discourse, my own solution employs interpretive models that are also temporally specific, like Bovon and Nasrallah, but date to the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE) to help frame Acts' grand vision of Christianity's triumphal expansion within contemporaneous discourses of empire. It seeks to contribute another case study to this line of scholarship that stretches from Bovon to Gilbert to Nasrallah, but attempts to re-focus the discussion toward discourses of empire during the reign of Trajan, Hadrian's predecessor, and the one who reinvented the concept of the Roman Empire and set in motion what would *eventually* develop into Hadrian's Panhellenion.

### Representations of Provincials on the Column of Trajan

Trajanic *imperium* is projected as a coalition of various ethnic groups that express their "*Romanitas*" through local identity symbols and ethnographic markers.<sup>108</sup> Likewise, Acts brings together representatives of different ethnic groups without abolishing differences. Through the depiction of Paul's words and deeds in provincial cities, such as Lystra, Ephesus, and Malta, Acts fashions an image of how Christianity fits within Trajanic notions of a "pluralistic" empire.<sup>109</sup> The Column contains a higher concentration of provincials than on any other Roman state monument, the majority of which are portrayed working alongside the Roman army.<sup>110</sup> Good examples of this are found in the images where auxiliary infantry and cavalry are portrayed in combat against the Dacians. There are several identifiable ethnic groups wearing distinct dress and armor, depicted fighting on the Romans' behalf

<sup>108</sup> For instance, on the Column of Trajan subjected Dacians are not depicted as defeated but as participating in Roman-like activities while keeping their particular ethnographic markers.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Nasrallah, "Acts of the Apostles," 534, who argues, "This article argues that Paul's travels to Greek cities in the latter half of Acts, and the geography of Acts more generally, are best understood in light of contemporaneous political and cultural discourses about Greek cities under Rome. Moreover, through Paul's deeds and speeches in key sites like Lystra, Thessalonike, Philippi, and Athens, Acts articulates a theological vision of how Christianity and its notion of one, true God can fit within a 'pluralistic' empire and its notions of ethnic difference."

<sup>110</sup> The contribution of auxiliaries to Roman success is envisaged beyond the battle scenes to the *adlocutio* scenes. In scene XLII, for example, Trajan addresses a group of troops that consists of cavalry on the left, auxiliaries in the center, and standard bearers and legionaries on the right.



14. Scene CVIII: Ethnically diverse auxiliaries.

(scene CVIII; see [Figure 14](#)). An equal attention to detail is evident when Trajan interviews embassies composed of different peoples from the eastern empire. At least six different tribes or nations can be identified by dress, physiognomy, or hairstyle.<sup>111</sup> John Clarke has pointed out that one of the main features of the overall depiction of the Dacian wars was that “men who were not Roman citizens did most of the fighting.”<sup>112</sup> Clarke notes that out of the twenty major battle scenes represented on the Column, the auxiliaries take part in nineteen of them, while the legionaries and/or praetorians are found in only seven. Furthermore, auxiliaries fight *alone* in twelve of the twenty scenes. The intended effect, according to Clarke, was that “[Trajan] wanted to make it clear what a prominent role non-Romans took in winning the victory.”<sup>113</sup>

This begs the question, why would Trajan be interested in giving non-Romans such a pride of place in his Dacian victory monument? Clarke proposes that it had the effect of modeling for nonmilitary foreign viewers categories within which they too could fit within imperial society, a class of viewers that would have comprised the majority of people viewing the

<sup>111</sup> Roger David Von Dippe, “Origins and Development of Continuous Narrative” (PhD diss., Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California, 2007) 401.

<sup>112</sup> John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 38.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

Column and throughout the empire. It is with this type of group that Acts' representation of Paul fits best. In his itinerant travels, Paul's mission to the provinces is presented in accordance with the logic of Trajanic imperialism that sought to spread "peace" and "civilization" to those without it. Acts reconfigures the memory of Paul so that its most salient feature is not that of Paul as prisoner, but of Paul as exemplar of *Romanitas* and disseminator of civilizing virtues to others.<sup>114</sup>

The Column of Trajan constructed a taxonomy within which civilian viewers could think about their own place within imperial society and its civilizing mission. It set the very terms within which foreigners could orient themselves and effectively helped shape subjectivities to work in accord with Roman values. Richard Brilliant once argued concerning Roman art and Roman imperial policy that "propaganda is not used, merely, to create a favourable climate of belief or opinion; it is used to channel the energies of the public exposed to it and repeatedly – a public whose beliefs are conditioned by propaganda so that they will act in concert in some desired manner, that is a manner or direction useful to the creators and disseminators of that propaganda."<sup>115</sup> The Column provided points of identification for provincial visitors and modeled ways they could understand their own place within imperial society. It teaches people from outside Rome how they could "become Roman." The Column presented the empire as a benevolently expanding incorporative network within which each people group could find a place and rise in its ranks.

### Conclusion: The Politics of a Public Portraiture

The Book of Acts constructs Paul's personae through a series of dramatic episodes that emphasize his role as a public figure who aspires to contribute to the general welfare of provincial cities with which he forges relationships. That Paul is portrayed acting in public is of central importance to the construction of this persona. Standing on trial in Caesarea, he defends his actions and declares his innocence, exclaiming, "Indeed the king [Agrippa] knows about these things, and to him I speak freely; for I am certain that none of these things has escaped his notice, for this was not done in a corner" (Acts 26:26). Acts fashions a *public* image of Paul that conforms with Trajanic standards of representation by presenting Paul as an ambassador whose mission

<sup>114</sup> For examples of ethnic-mixing in Acts, see 2.5; 6.6–8; 9.22; 11.19; 13.1, 5, 44; 14.1; 17.1, 10, 17, 21; 18.3, 4, 19; 21.17.

<sup>115</sup> Brilliant 1988, 110, quoted in Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 68.

to the eastern provinces was to construct an imperially inspired patronage network of divine benefaction. The mission of Paul in Acts is the principal means by which God's *imperium* is envisaged as expanding from city to city. Acts presents a global imaginary that conforms to the geographical thinking of the Roman Empire under Trajan, and does so through the promotion of a coalition of interconnected cities. Acts fashions a portrait of Paul that conforms to dominant themes found in Roman imperial representations in order to highlight his *Romanitas* and status as an *optimus civis*. The cumulative effect of these episodes is a unified portrait of Paul as one who contributes to the civilizing ideals of the imperial vocation and serves as a benefit to the empire. Paul is presented in accordance with the highest ideals of Roman society, as a patron to communities, in order to express and shape Christian self-understanding in accordance with broader standards of provincial identity. Through the incorporation of imperial symbols into local contexts, Acts employed the same strategy other provincial groups used to define themselves under the empire. Such a symbol would have certainly held social capital at a time when Christians were vying for legitimation in a world where projections of a community's power and prestige were a necessary step in increasing their prominence in the cities and garnering political benefits from the imperial system.

## ACTS AND ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA

THIS CHAPTER WILL INVESTIGATE THE OTHER SIDE OF ACTS' apologetic and the various ways in which the author negatively characterizes "Jewish" responses to Paul and his companions. I wish to explicate this image by proposing that Acts characterizes "the Jews" in accordance with a pervasive anti-Jewish misanthropy theme that was adopted from imperial rhetoric, while accommodated to Acts' own contemporary setting to reflect post-70 developments, specifically, the rise of anti-Jewish propaganda during the reign of Trajan. Acts represents the Jews as a people group whose way of life is characteristically misanthropic, with little distinction between Jerusalem, Judaea, or the Diaspora, but that "the Jews" act in a single accord, as lovers of their own group while openly hostile to outsiders, which gives them mob power to exert pressure on local officials and crowds. Section One will survey Acts' depiction of the Jews as enemies of Paul. Section Two will explore the source of Acts' anti-Judaism. Section Three will analyze the evolution of anti-Jewish propaganda during the reign of Trajan. Section Four will compare the depiction of barbarians on Trajanic monumental art with the depiction of Jews in Acts to elucidate common strategies for fashioning cultural identity in the empire. In the end, it will be argued that Acts' depiction of "the Jews" participated within Trajanic discourses of empire and served a pivotal role in how Acts constructs Christian difference in the complex of Rome's empire.

### Narrative Representations of Paul's Jewish Opponents

Scholars have disagreed over the years in their assessment of Acts' attitude toward "the Jews" (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι).<sup>1</sup> There is a long-standing debate as to how

<sup>1</sup> For those scholars who attempt to summarize the various perspectives on this topic, see Joseph B. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars* (Columbia: University of South Carolina

to understand Acts' negative statements, how to account for the occasional positive portrayals, and where the emphasis lies in Acts' perspective. The text itself seems ambivalent at times. A common example of this interpretive problem is found at 17:4 where some (Jews) are persuaded by Paul, 17:5 where "the Jews" respond negatively to Paul, while at 17:13 "the Jews of Thessalonica" incite the crowds against Paul.<sup>2</sup> While there is yet no scholarly consensus on Acts' view of the Jews, some argue that Acts' main concern is to characterize the Jews as rejected by God as the chosen people due to their own rejection of Jesus and the preaching of Paul. According to this line of interpretation, the gentile mission is seen as extending from Acts' rejection of the Jews.<sup>3</sup> Others, however, argue that Acts does not reject the Jewish people as a whole, but is rather operating from within the varieties of Judaism of the time, critiquing those factions that reject Jesus as the messiah, or, as others have argued, critiquing the leaders of the Jewish people.<sup>4</sup> From this latter perspective, it is claimed that Acts' condemnation of certain Jews is similar

Press, 1999); Jon A. Weatherly, *Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup 106; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 1–49.

<sup>2</sup> For contrasting interpretations of these texts, see Marilyn Salmon, "Insider or Outsider? Luke's Relationship with Judaism." Page 81 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (ed. Joseph B. Tyson; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1988); and Jack T. Sanders, "The Jewish People in Luke-Acts," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People* (ed. Joseph B. Tyson; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1988), 71; idem, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); idem, "Who Is a Jew and Who Is a Gentile in the Book of Acts?," *NTS* 37, no. 3 (1991): 434–55; Lawrence M. Wills, "The Depiction of the Jews in Acts," *JBL* 110.4 (1991): 632–33. Todd D. Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica: A Pauline Church and Its Neighbours* (JSNTSup 183; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1982); Lloyd Gaston, "Anti-Judaism and the Passion Narrative in Luke and Acts." Pages 1.127–53 in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity, Vol. 1: Paul and the Gospels* (eds. Peter Richardson and David Granskou; Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986); Ernst Haenchen, "Judentum und Christentum in der Apostelgeschichte," *ZNW* 54 (1963): 155–89; idem, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 721–32; Stephen Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) 219–38; Stephen Wilson, "The Jews and the Death of Jesus in Acts." Pages 1.155–64 in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* (eds. Peter Richardson and David Granskou; Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986); Augusto Barbi, "The Use and Meaning of (*Hoi*) *Ioudaioi* in Acts." Pages 123–42 in *Luke and Acts* (eds. Gerald O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi; New York: Paulist Press, 1993); Pamela Hedrick, "Fewer Answers and Further Questions: Jews and Gentiles in Acts," *Int* 66, no. 3 (2012): 294–305.

<sup>4</sup> See James D. G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM 1991); Günter Wassberg, *Aus Israels Mitte – Heil für die Welt: Eine narrativ-exegetische Studie zur Theologie des Lukas* (BZNW 92; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998); Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 145–48. For a critique of those who argue the tension is polemical, see Wills, "Depiction of the Jews," 645.



to the way in which Josephus blames the Zealots for instigating the Jewish War.<sup>5</sup> Jacob Jervell, for instance, argues this point due to instances in both the first and second half of Acts where Jews do indeed come to faith. From this perspective, the gentile mission is seen in terms of an extension beyond the conversion of the faithful half of Israel.<sup>6</sup>

Shelly Matthews has succinctly identified the four most common arguments used to refute claims that Acts is antagonistic toward the Jews.

First, it is stressed that Acts' embrace of what may be termed "things Jewish" – for example, circumcision (16.3), Nazirite vows (21.23–26), and Pharisaic erudition (22.3) – along with its celebration of the Jewish credentials of its key leaders, preclude any argument that Acts is hostile toward Jews. Second, it is argued that Acts' debate with Jews is merely an intramural quarrel and thus that its invective against Israel should be regarded as no harsher than that hurled by a Jeremiah or an Isaiah. Once the text is situated as an

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 646, "We would not say that Josephus was 'anti-Jewish' as a result... but the analogy with Josephus does not provide a means for defending Luke. Luke-Acts represents a stronger and more graphic condemnation of the Jews than Josephus does of the Sadducees; it is closer to Josephus's treatment of the Zealots, and what Josephus says about one group of rebels, Luke in the second half of Acts appears to be attaching to Jews as a whole."

<sup>6</sup> Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1972). See also Joseph Shulam, *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Acts* (Jerusalem: Academon, 2003). For an approach to the topic from the perspectives of ethnicity, see Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16* (WUNT 294; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); idem, "Negotiating Difference: Theology and Ethnicity in the Acts of the Apostles," *Word & World*, 31, no. 2 (2011): 129–37. See also Cynthia M. Baker, "'From Every Nation under Heaven': Jewish Ethnicities in the Greco-Roman World." Pages 79–99 in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christianity* (eds. Laura Nasrallah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2010); Simon Buttica, "'Has God Rejected His People?' (Romans 11.1). The Salvation of Israel in Acts: Narrative Claim of a Pauline Legacy." Pages 148–64 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters* (eds. David P. Moessner et al.; LNTS 452; London: T&T Clark, 2012); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls." Pages 233–57 in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (eds. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn; London: SPCK, 1968); Robert L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1987); Reidar Hvalvik, "Paul as a Jewish Believer – According to the Book of Acts." Pages 121–53 in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (eds. Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007); Leander E. Keck, "The Jewish Paul Among the Gentiles: Two Portrayals." Pages 461–81 in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (eds. John T. Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Olbricht, and L. Michael White; NovTSup 110; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2003); Dixon Slingerland, "'The Jews' in the Pauline Portion of Acts," *JAAR* 54, no. 2 (1986): 305–21; Michael J. Cook, "The Mission to the Jews in Acts: Unraveling Luke's 'Myth of the "Myriads."'" Pages 102–23 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (ed. Joseph B. Tyson; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988).

in-group prophetic critique, any suggestion that its author is inveighing against Judaism from the outside is precluded as anachronistic. Third, it is argued that Acts' polemic is aimed only at Jewish leaders and not the entire Jewish people. Fourth, it is stressed that Paul's final citation of Isaiah in front of his Jewish audience in Rome, which includes the ominous warning that his audience "will indeed listen, but never understand, and... look, but never perceive (28.26-27)," should not be viewed as an indication that Acts has "written off" the Jews, as more traditional readings of Acts on Jews and Judaism would have it. Because Paul quotes Isaiah, a prophet of Israel, and because the quotation ends with the hint that God might "heal them" should they turn, it is argued that Acts' final signal to the Jews is one of openness.<sup>7</sup>

While Matthews successfully identifies these key scholarly arguments, she disagrees with their conclusions that Acts' depiction of Jews and the future Jewish-Christian relations is to be viewed positively. Rather, Matthews sees Acts as constructing a foundation story for the early Christian movement that reifies a line of separation between what has already become, by the author's day, two distinct groups. There have been other commendable attempts to explain both the positive and negative dimensions to Acts' narrative portrayal of the Jews. In the end, however, one is faced with the question of whether the negative representations "outweigh" the positive. My own position sides with Matthews and is demonstrated in what follows, namely that while Acts maintains a certain amount of ambivalence toward the ultimate fate of the Jews, the highly charged and negative representations overshadow the few seemingly positive depictions.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Acts 1-7, 12: Jerusalem*

In the first five chapters of Acts, the sole enemies of "the Way" are those associated with the Temple. Sadducees (Σαδδουκαῖοι), the High Priest and his family (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς... καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ), the captain of the temple and the chief priests (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς), and the rulers, elders, and scribes (τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς), are all named explicitly as the narrative focuses on the tension between the leaders of the nascent messianic movement and the temple authorities. At this early stage in the narrative,

<sup>7</sup> Shelly Matthews, *Perfect Martyr: The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 31.

<sup>8</sup> Mitzi J. Smith, *The Literary Construction of the Other in the Acts of the Apostles: Charismatics, the Jews, and Women* (Cambridge: James Clark & Co., 2011), 58.

the Way's relationship with the Pharisees is still in question, creating an image of a divided Jerusalem with the Temple aristocracy on one side and the populace on the other.<sup>9</sup>

The stoning of Stephen (7:54–60) represents a transitional point within the narrative representation, as the Jewish opponents of “the Way” extend beyond the associates of the Temple to an ever-expanding group that is increasingly referred to generically as “the Jews.”<sup>10</sup> By the time Herod has James killed (12:2), he can proceed to arrest Peter because “he saw that it pleased *the Jews*” (12:1–3). Similarly, after Peter miraculously escapes imprisonment, he can exclaim, “Now I am sure that the Lord has sent his angel and rescued me from the hands of Herod and from “all that *the Jewish people* were expecting” (12:11). Thus, for the majority of Acts, “the Jews” are represented as an undifferentiated group that is consistently opposed to and engaging in acts of violence against followers of “the Way.”<sup>11</sup>

#### *Acts 9: Damascus*

Paul is portrayed as achieving considerable success in persuading the various communities, to which he travels, to the faith during his itinerant mission in the eastern provinces.<sup>12</sup> In addition to these reports of missionary achievements, however, Paul is frequently depicted encountering severe opposition by “Jewish” members of these same communities. Paul/Saul begins to experience hostility from Jewish groups of the Diaspora immediately after his conversion. As Saul proclaims Jesus as the “Son of God” in the local synagogues in Damascus, a group of local Jews plot to kill Saul (συνεβουλεύσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν). In spite of their vigilance in “watching the gates day and night so that they might kill him” (παρετηροῦντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πύλας ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὅπως αὐτόν

<sup>9</sup> For example, 5:34ff. Gaston, “Anti-Judaism and the Passion Narrative Luke and Acts,” 127–54; Geir Otto Holmås, “‘My House Shall Be a House of Prayer’: Regarding the Temple as a Place of Prayer in Acts within the Context of Luke’s Apologetical Objective,” *JSNT* 27, no. 4 (2005): 393–416; see also Milton Moreland, “The Jerusalem Community in Acts: Mythmaking and the Socio-Rhetorical Functions of a Lukan Setting,” Pages 285–310 in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (ed. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele; SBLSymS 20; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Shelly Matthews, “The Need for the Stoning of Stephen,” Pages 124–39 in *Violence in the New Testament* (eds. Shelly Matthews and E. Leigh Gibson; New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 124–25.

<sup>11</sup> Terrence L. Donaldson, “Moses Typology and the Sectarian Nature of Early Christian Anti-Judaism: A Study in Acts 7,” *JSNT* 4, no. 12 (1981): 27–52.

<sup>12</sup> Richard J. Cassidy, “The Non-Roman Opponents of Paul,” Page 75 in *New Views on Luke and Acts* (ed. Earl Richard; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990).

ἀνέλωσιν), he was able to escape with the help of his disciples, who lowered him over a wall in a basket (9:23–25).<sup>13</sup>

Following this episode, Paul returns to Jerusalem where he attracts the hostility of more Jewish opponents, namely, “the Hellenists,” who “were attempting to kill him” (οἱ δὲ ἐπεχείρουν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν) (9:28–29). While Acts does not identify who comprised this group of “Hellenists,” it is now most commonly thought to refer to a group of Greek-speaking Jews who were formerly residents in the Diaspora, though now living in Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> Rescuing Saul from their plot, the believers intercept him, bring him down to Caesarea, and send him off to Tarsus (9:30).

### *Acts 13: Cyprus and Antioch*

Later in the narrative, Paul begins his westward mission by traveling through Cyprus, successfully avoiding Jewish opposition, with the exception of Bar-Jesus, a Jewish magician (ὁ μάγος) and false prophet who tries to keep Paul from speaking with Sergius Paulus, the proconsul.<sup>15</sup> It is reported that Bar-Jesus “opposed them (ἀντίστατο δὲ αὐτοῖς) and tried to turn the proconsul away from the faith” (13:8). In response, Paul blinds his Jewish opponent and the proconsul comes to believe. This is a significant break in the narrative pattern of Paul’s encounter with hostile Jews in that it marks the only instance in Acts where Paul is able to overcome a Jewish opponent. This scene creates an image that unifies Acts’ dual interest in defining itself in peaceful terms with Roman representatives, here signified by Sergius Paulus, while at the same time defining itself against the Jews, represented by Bar-Jesus. Throughout the rest of Acts, these dual interests continue to work in tandem.<sup>16</sup>

Following this episode, Paul speaks in a synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, attracting both Jewish sympathizers and opponents. “When the meeting of the synagogue broke up, many Jews and devout converts to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas, who spoke to them and urged them to continue in the grace of God” (13:43). Nevertheless, on the following Sabbath,

<sup>13</sup> For more on the characterization of synagogues in Acts, see John G. Gager, “Jews, Gentiles, and Synagogues in the Book of Acts,” *HTR* 79, no. 1/3 (1986): 91–99.

<sup>14</sup> Cassidy, “Non-Roman Opponents,” 75.

<sup>15</sup> See [Chapter 3](#) for a discussion of this passage.

<sup>16</sup> For other studies that acknowledge this dual tendency, see Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the “Acts of the Apostles”* (trans. Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery, and Richard Bauckham; SNTSMS 121; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 128–54; Gary Gilbert, “Jews in Imperial Administration and Its Significance for Dating the Jewish Donor Inscription from Aphrodisias,” *JSJ* 35, no. 2 (2002): 169–84.

when the whole city gathered to hear Paul preach, the Jews (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) grew jealous at the sight of the crowd and spoke obstinately against Paul (ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις βλασημοῦντες, 13:45). Acts further reports, “But the Jews incited the devout women of high standing and the leading men of the city, and stirred up persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and drove them out of their region” (ἰ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι παρώτρυναν τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπήγειραν διωγμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρναβάν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν, 13:50). Paul and Barnabas survive the tactics of their Jewish opponents who act as a pressure group by shaking the dust off their feet in protest, continuing on to Iconium.<sup>17</sup>

#### *Acts 14: Iconium and Lystra*

At Iconium, Paul has great success speaking in the Jewish synagogue, where “a great number of both Jews and Greeks became believers” (Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λαλῆσαι οὕτως ὥστε πιστεῦσαι Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος, 14:1). Once again, in spite of the missionary success among certain Jews and Greeks, this causes the “unbelieving Jews” (οἱ δὲ ἀπειθήσαντες Ἰουδαῖοι) to oppose Paul by rallying the Gentiles against them. The result is a divided city where “some sided with the Jews, and some with the apostles” (14:4). In the end, the disciples are forced to flee to Lycaonia because “an attempt was made by both Gentiles and Jews, with their rulers, to mistreat them and to stone them” (ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁρμὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν ὑβρίσαι καὶ λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτούς) (14:5–6). The Jews of Iconium are constructed as “unbelieving” in opposition to Paul and his companions, whereas the rest of the city populace vacillates between these two poles.

Upon arriving at Lystra, Paul and Barnabas succeed in speaking before a crowd concerning the beneficence of God. Nevertheless, Paul is pursued by “Jews” from earlier cities, “Jews came there from Antioch (of Pisidia) and Iconium and won over the crowds. Then they stoned Paul and dragged him out of the city, supposing that he was dead” (Ἐπῆλθαν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰκονίου Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πείσαντες τοὺς ὄχλους

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Wenxi Zhang, *Paul among Jews: A Study of the Meaning and Significance of Paul's Inaugural Sermon in the Synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:16–41) for His Missionary Work Among the Jews* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

καὶ λιθάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον ἔσυρον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως νομίζοντες αὐτὸν τεθνηκέναι, 14:19). In this episode, contrary to the mob's intent, Paul survives and returns to the city.

*Acts 17: Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens*

Later in the narrative, while Paul is in Thessalonica, he is reported going into "a synagogue of the Jews" arguing on three separate Sabbaths that scripture foretold that it was necessary for the Messiah "to suffer and rise from the dead" (17:1–3). Similar to previous episodes, some were persuaded to join Paul, including "a great many of the devout Greeks" and many of the leading women. Nevertheless, Acts portrays "the Jews" as becoming jealous, inciting "some ruffians in the marketplaces," forming a mob, and setting the city in an uproar (Ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄνδρας τινὰς πονηροὺς καὶ ὄχλοποιήσαντες ἐθορύβουν τὴν πόλιν, 17:5).<sup>18</sup> This same group of Jews follow Paul to Berea and incite the crowds there, causing Paul to flee to Athens (17:13–15), even though Paul found a favorable response.

*Acts 18–19: Corinth and Ephesus*

While arriving at Corinth, Paul commits himself to testifying to the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah. Here, once again, the Jews "opposed and reviled" (ἀντιτασσομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ βλασημούντων) Paul, causing him to shake the dust from his clothes in protest. In spite of this opposition, Paul finds a welcoming house next door to the synagogue to conduct his ministry, and still has the great success of converting Crispus, the official of the synagogue, with his entire household, as well as many of the Corinthians (18:8).<sup>19</sup>

While still in Corinth, Acts reports "when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews made a united attack on Paul (Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ) and brought him before the tribunal. They said, 'This man is persuading people to worship God in ways that are contrary to the law'" (18:12–13). Gallio, however, immediately dismisses the charges and releases Paul from the tribunal, proclaiming, "If it were a matter of crime or serious villainy, I would be justified

<sup>18</sup> Benjamin J. Hubbard, "Luke, Josephus and Rome: A Comparative Approach to the Lucan Sitz-im-Leben." Pages 59–68 in *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers* (ed. Paul J. Achtemeier; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979).

<sup>19</sup> On the relationship between chapter 18:5–17 and chapter 13, see Wills, "Depiction of the Jews," 637.

in accepting the complaint of you Jews; but since it is a matter of questions about words and names and your own law, see to it yourselves; I do not wish to be a judge of these matters" (18:14–15). Paul is exonerated of any charges against the state, in spite of Jewish insistence to the contrary.<sup>20</sup>

Following this episode, Paul arrives in Ephesus where he immediately goes into the synagogue for a discussion with the Jews. They respond favorably and ask that he stay longer, though he is unable to and vows to return at a later date (18:19–21). Upon Paul's later return to Ephesus, he enters the synagogue and speaks for three months. In response, "some stubbornly refused to believe and spoke evil of the Way before the congregation" (ὡς δέ τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπείθουν κακολογοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους), causing Paul to relocate with his disciples to the lecture hall of Tyrannus (19:9). Here, Paul stays for two years, and "all the residents of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord" (19:10).<sup>21</sup>

#### *Acts 20–28: Final Voyage to Jerusalem*

Paul's final encounter with hostile Jews in the Diaspora comes just before his final voyage to Jerusalem. While in Greece getting ready to set sail for Syria, the Jews make another plot against him (γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων) (20:3), diverting his travel plans through Macedonia. Upon Paul's arrival in Jerusalem, "the Jews from Asia" (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι) see him in the temple and stir up the whole crowd and seize him (συνέχεον πάντα τὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἐπέβαλον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας) (21:27).<sup>22</sup> Paul continues to face Jewish opponents while under arrest in Jerusalem and Caesarea. This group is made up largely of those identified as opponents in the opening chapters of Acts, specifically those associated with the Temple cult, including the chief priests and all the council, the High Priest, Sadducees, elders, and more.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout Acts, there exists, side by side, both acceptance and rejection among Jews and Gentiles; nevertheless, the emphasis is clearly weighted on

<sup>20</sup> Bruce W. Winter, "Gallio's Ruling on the Legal Status of Early Christianity (Acts 18:14–15)," *TynBul* 50 (1999): 213–24.

<sup>21</sup> For an explication of the contrast between early Christian assemblies and civic riots in Acts, see Robert F. Stoops Jr., "Riot and Assembly: The Social Context of Acts 19:23–41," *JBL* 108, no. 1 (1989): 73–91.

<sup>22</sup> There has been some debate among commentators whether "the Jews from Asia" are to be understood as Paul's opponents from earlier or later in the narrative. See Cassidy, "Non-Roman Opponents," 150–62.

<sup>23</sup> See 22:30; 23:2; 23:6; 23:9; 23:14; 24:1; 25:2; 25:15; 26:10, 12; 28:17.



Jewish rejection. On a few occasions, Paul is able to persuade Jewish people toward the faith, though these individuals are seen as exceptional.<sup>24</sup> There are a total of twelve times in Acts where Paul experiences hostility from Jewish groups of the Diaspora. In five episodes, the Jews seek to kill Paul.<sup>25</sup> In four episodes, Paul is forced to leave town due to Jewish opposition. In three additional passages, Paul makes a solemn announcement that emphasizes Jewish rejection and Gentile acceptance of his message: "It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you [Jews]. Since you reject it and judge yourselves to be unworthy of eternal life, we are now turning to the Gentiles" (Acts 13:46; cf. 18:6; 28:28). It is a curious phenomenon, but quite consistent with Acts' overall ambivalence, that Paul returns to speak in synagogues after the first two of these announcements, with the book essentially ending after the third announcement.

In sum, Acts constructs a predominantly negative depiction of the Jews, envisaged in Acts as Paul's principal opponents. Much more than any other group in Acts, it is the Jews who instigate opposition and act with violence against the texts' chief protagonists. Through various narrative strategies, Acts constructs those following "the Way" as a distinct group from "the Jews."<sup>26</sup>

The significance of this depiction for the history of Jewish-Christian relations is described by Lawrence Wills, who argues, "Luke has gone beyond Paul,

<sup>24</sup> Mitzi Smith, *Literary Construction*, 64. Regarding the emergence of a generalized, undifferentiated view of "the Jews" in antiquity, see Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 47. See also, Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 8.

<sup>25</sup> Cassidy, "Non-Roman Opponents," 75. In a related vein, the book of Acts makes the Jerusalem Jews culpable for the death of Jesus (Acts 2:22–23; 3:12–15; 4:10; 5:30; 7:52; 10:33–44; 13:26–28). Lloyd Gaston, "Anti-Judaism and the Passion Narrative Luke and Acts." Pages 127–54 in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* (eds. Peter Richardson and David Granskou; Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), has argued that the perspective that emerges in Luke and Acts is that *all* Jews, and not just *some* Jews, are responsible for Jesus' death. He bases his argument on several of the passages quoted above, but especially since these speeches are addressed to "men of Israel," "sons of the prophets," "sons of the covenant," "you who received the law."

<sup>26</sup> As Loveday Alexander argues, "It is not always easy to determine at what point interfacational polemic within a fragmenting movement becomes intersectorian polemic between rival religious communities. In this sense, it is not a great step from reading Acts as a defence of Pauline Christianity against Jewish Christianity to reading it as a defence of Christianity tout court before the tribunal of the wider Jewish community. This reading rests on the sound literary observation that a large part of Acts deals with the question of the relationships between emergent Christian groups and the parent Jewish community." Loveday Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (Library of New Testament Studies; Early Christianity in Context 298; New York: T & T Clark International, 2005), 184–85.

Mark, and Matthew in at least one important respect: the split between Luke's fellow Christians and Judaism appears to be complete and in the past."<sup>27</sup> Several other scholars have recognized that Acts uses different means to show a definite separation between believers and the Jews.<sup>28</sup> Shelly Matthews, for instance, argues, "In this work Luke constructs for followers of 'the Way' a genealogy reaching back into Israelite traditions, and a sociology that drives a wedge between them and their Jewish contemporaries."<sup>29</sup> In detailing the origins and cultural inheritance of the Christian movement, Acts succeeds in tracing positive connections. There is a definite line of separation, however, drawn between followers of "the Way" and "the Jews" that is maintained through narrative distillation of Jewish animosity and hostility.

### Anti-Jewish Misanthropy in Acts and Antiquity

In Acts, friends and enemies of "the Way" are depicted with great care as a process of socially positioning the Way and shaping a sense of cultural identity. The inclusion of both friends and enemies is an integral part of this process. As one set of social theorists describes this process,

To uncover the values for which a society stands, one need only look at its heroes, and at the mechanisms through which those heroes are commemorated and celebrated... The memory of heroic identities and events reveals the ideals upon which social solidarity rests. Celebration of the remembered past enhances collective commitment to those ideals. Communities benefit from the endurance of heroic events in the collective representations found within individual memory... But might not a society's villains reveal as much about its values as its heroes? Might not the creation and preservation of negative images benefit the community as well?<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Wills, "Depiction of the Jews," 653–54; Stephen Wilson, *Related Strangers: Jews and Christians 70 C.E.–170 C.E.* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995).

<sup>28</sup> For example, Richard I. Pervo, *The Mystery of Acts: Unraveling Its Story* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2008); Wills, "The Depiction of the Jews," 631–54.

<sup>29</sup> Matthews, "The Need for the Stoning of Stephen," 124.

<sup>30</sup> Lori Ducharme and Gary Alan Fine, "The Construction of Nonpersonhood and Demonization: Commemorating the 'Traitorous' Reputation of Benedict Arnold." Pages 296–99 in *The Collective Memory Reader* (eds. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 296. Erich Gruen, *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011) argues that some attempts at understanding attitudes toward "the other" in antiquity follow models that are too simplistic, "Attitudes to the 'other' were far from uniform. Greeks did not, for instance, restrict themselves to demonization even of Persia, the quintessential foe of Hellas. Their

Acts similarly serves as a community-forming story whose characters help shape readers' own self-understanding and sense of place in the broader environment. The depiction of "the Jews" as enemies of "the Way" contributes to this process of identity formation, albeit negatively. It provides a foil for what not to be like and helps readers identify and/or imagine contemporary threats to their own identity.<sup>31</sup> Early Christian identity is fashioned in Acts on the back of and in opposition to a predominately negative representation of the Jews.

Contrary to what one might expect, the reason for Jewish animosity in Acts is not Paul's critique of the very essence of Judaism – that Torah observance is insufficient and effectively replaced by Christ – but rather Jewish jealousy at the successful expansion of the Christian mission.<sup>32</sup> This becomes one of the most salient patterns of the Pauline mission: expansion provokes resistance and missionary success prompts repression.<sup>33</sup> As a result, the Jews are constructed in almost entirely contrastive ways, not just with the followers of the Way, but also with the populace of the cities to which Paul preaches. They are characterized by their insistence on acting in opposition to their neighbors and forming pressure groups, whether it be followers of "the Way," or other members of the civic community. This characterization comes into sharp relief in Acts 13, as Paul and Barnabas's stay in Antioch of Pisidia proves to be most inhospitable. Although Paul's initial sermon wins many gentile adherents, on the following Sabbath, the Jews grow hostile toward the travelers because of their success and attempt to obfuscate their

stance (or rather their stances) had considerable nuance, and their associations with the Persian Empire were revealingly variegated. Indeed, the Romans' disposition toward their most fearsome rival, Carthage, took diverse forms, whether approving or demeaning or both at once. Cultural identity did not require creation and disparagement of the opposite. The identities themselves were multiform, a conglomerate of ethnicities in North Africa, in the Levant, even in individual regions of Italy, thus rendering the idea of inventing a serviceable foil particularly simplistic," 1.

<sup>31</sup> Gaston, "Anti-Judaism," 127–53.

<sup>32</sup> The general attitude toward Torah observance in Acts is that it has no soteriological significance while still being acceptable for believers of Jewish birth. In 15:7–11, Peter argues that Torah observance is impossible while Paul himself remains observant (e.g., 21:26). Richard I. Pervo, *Acts* (Hermeneia Series, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2009), 341.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, "The pattern of Paul's missionary work in Acts 13–19 shows little variation. He begins with efforts to win Jews, meets resistance from at least some of them, and leaves town because of civic or legal pressures. Nowhere is Luke's availability to produce interesting variations upon a simple theme more apparent than in this part of his story. The preceding comment reveals skepticism about whether this pattern always or often reflects reality... This use of narrative molds into which to fit his stories is, rather than invention of episodes or poor data, the principal reason for the difficulties of treating Acts as simple history."

message and chase them out of the city. It is my contention that this episode is narrated from a perspective that would have been familiar to early readers of Acts, for it presupposes a pervasive prejudice among Greeks and Romans against the Jews as a pressure group whose way of existence is characterized by misanthropy, a lifestyle defined by the following four core attributes.<sup>34</sup> First, the Jews were viewed as misanthropic because they were thought to share a mutual loyalty with one another regardless of geographical origin. Second, their mutual loyalty leads them to hate other groups. Third, the Jews' mutual hatred for others often results in the formation of pressure groups, exercising their power as a collective to influence local leaders to move in tandem with their will.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, there was often a fourth component whereby practices such as circumcision, Sabbath observance, and abstaining from pork were interpreted as evidence of the Jews' unsociability.<sup>36</sup> Because

<sup>34</sup> Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 46. Greek and Roman authors do not seem to distinguish differences in the beliefs and practices among Jews. As Feldman argues, "The impression given is that the Jews, as a people, were universally observant of the laws of the Torah. In fact, Hecataeus (quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.191) declares that all (*pantes*) of the Jews, though slandered by their neighbors and by foreign visitors and though subjected to frequent outrages by Persian kings and satraps, remained firm in their determination and were ready to face torture and death rather than repudiate the faith of their forefathers. As an example of this obstinacy, he relates the incident (*Against Apion* 1.192) that Alexander the Great gave orders to all his soldiers without distinction to bring materials for the earthworks of a temple that he proposed to restore; in that case, the Jews alone – again with the clear implication that all the Jews were in agreement – refused and even submitted to severe chastisement and heavy fines until the king pardoned them," 48.

<sup>35</sup> Due to popular belief in the mutual loyalty among Jews, authors such as Horace and Cicero both refer to the political pressure Jews could exert. According to Roman stereotypes, the Jews were able to exert pressure in the political and social realms, while in the meantime pursuing their own group interests. As Louis Feldman argues regarding Cicero (*Pro Flacco* 28.66–67), "Cicero... describes the Jews, in terms almost reminiscent of modern anti-Jewish bigots, as a passionate 'pressure-group,' noting how numerous they are, how they stick together, and how influential they are in informal assemblies. Hence, he says sarcastically, he will speak in a low voice so that only the jurors may hear. These remarks are particularly valuable because here we know the *Sitz-in-Leben*, the actual situation in which he made them, namely a trial in which he is defending a client who has been accused of extorting money the Jews had collected in Asia Minor for transmission to the Temple in Jerusalem." *Jew and Gentile*, 172. See also Pompeius Trogus (quoted in Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 36.2.16); E. J. Schnabel, "Jewish Opposition to Christians in Asia Minor in the First Century," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 18, no. 2 (2008): 233–70.

<sup>36</sup> Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 34–118. From the perspective of Greek and Roman authors, circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, and dietary laws were characteristic practices of the Jews and universally observed, without distinction. See Philo, *Questiones in Genesis* 3.62; Strabo 17.2.5.824; Petronius fragment 37; Tacitus *Historiae* 5.5.2–3; Agatharchides (quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.209); Suetonius *Augustus* 76.2; Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.75–76, 1.413–16; Horace *Satires* 1.9.69. Freeman, *Jews and Gentiles*, 49–50, 153–58. Concerning circumcision, Freeman argues, "despite the adoption of circumcision by several

of a pervasive belief that Jews across geographical borders shared these four core attributes, they were viewed as a cohesive group that maintained a common hatred for the rest of humanity and lived in accordance with a set of customs that kept them separate from the rest of the population.<sup>37</sup>

Among ancient writers, the most recurrent charge against the Jews is that of misanthropy. Hecataeus of Abdera, writing from a Greek cultural context at the end of the fourth century BCE, was the first known writer to have described the Jewish way of life as misanthropic.<sup>38</sup> Hecataeus writes: "The sacrifices that he [Moses] established differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced a kind of misanthropic (σπάρθρωπος) and inhospitable (μυρόξενος) way of life."<sup>39</sup> Although Hecataeus is otherwise rather

other peoples besides the Jews, the practice was particularly associated with the Jews in the eyes of pagan intellectuals. It is significant that though... pagan intellectuals are divided in their approach to various other practices of the Jews, none praise circumcision. There can be no doubt that this practice served as a crucial mark of identification separating the Jews from other peoples," 158. Furthermore, concerning the Jewish Sabbath, Freeman argues, "we may see that the ancient intellectuals almost universally derided the Jewish Sabbath, particularly what they considered the superstitious abstention from work on that day. But that an antiquarian as important as Plutarch could connect the Sabbath with the worship of the ever-popular Dionysus is an indication that this contempt was far from universal," 167. See also Margaret Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (New York: Duckworth, 1998), 54–59; Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Was Timothy Jewish (Acts 16:1–3)? Patristic Exegesis, Rabbinic Law, and Matrilineal Descent," *JBL* 105, no. 2 (1986): 251–68.

<sup>37</sup> Freeman, *Jews and Gentiles*, 124: "Scholars who have examined this corpus [of Greco-Roman authors who make mention of the Jews] have emphasized what they consider the almost universal prevalence of virulent anti-Jewish feeling in the remarks of these writers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Germany, it became fashionable, as seen in the writings of Felix Stähelin, Ulrich Wilcken, and Hugo Willrich, to cite these passages in promoting the thesis that there was something inherent in the Jews' characteristics that produced hostility toward them wherever they went, especially among those of intellectual attainments. We may, however, remark that, according to my count, 101 (18 percent) of the comments by pagans in Stern's collection are substantially favorable, 339 (59 percent) are more or less neutral, and only 130 (23 percent) are substantially unfavorable, and this despite the fact that the preservation of ancient manuscripts is due, in large part, to the Church, whether in the East or the West. In view of the large number of treatises *Adversus Judaeos*, one might have thought it would seek to preserve passages attacking rather than defending the Jews."

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Diodorus 40.3.4; Katell Berthelot, "Hecataeus of Abdera and Jewish 'Misanthropy,'" *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem* 19 (2008), 1; Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 163–170; Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 126. Cf. Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 41–72.

<sup>39</sup> This is mentioned by Hecataeus in an otherwise relatively positive valuation of Jewish people and customs. For similar sentiments, see Apollonius Molon from the first century BCE (cited in Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.258); Diodorus 34[35]. 1.2; Strabo 16.2.37.761; Tacitus *Histories* 5.5.2; Dio Cassius 37.17.2.

sympathetic in his description of Jewish origins and customs, this passage defines Jews by their tendency to separate from the wider communities in which they were a part.

What is remarkable is that in the entire corpus of Greek literature, the Jews are the only people ever accused of being misanthropic (μισάνθρωπος), as well as inhospitable (μισόξενος).<sup>40</sup> This antagonism stemmed from a common perception of the Jews as an unsociable group that was clannish, failing to uphold their civic duty of showing proper concern for the rest of humanity. A number of scholars have gone as far to argue that such perceived misanthropic attitudes served as the basis of anti-Jewish sentiments in the ancient world.<sup>41</sup>

Jewish customs were regularly the source for popular ridicule, even though subjects of the empire were well aware of and wrote about strange customs among populations across the frontier. Such harsh criticism is directed toward the Jews, however, precisely because they maintain these customs while residing within the boundaries of the empire.<sup>42</sup> On certain instances,

<sup>40</sup> Berthelot, "Hecataeus," 6. Examples of other Greek intellectuals who perceived the Jews as a people group that hates the rest of humanity include Manetho (quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.250), Lysimachus (quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.309), Apollonius Molon (cited in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.309), Diodorus (34[35].1.1), Pompeius Trogus (quoted in Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 36, *Epitoma* 2.15), Apion (cited in Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.121), Euphrates (quoted in Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 5.33), Aelius Aristides (46 [De Quattuorviris 309]), and Neoplatonist Synesius (*Epistulae* 5). Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 128–30; J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 90–94.

<sup>41</sup> On the suitability of the term "anti-Semitism" in this context, see Zvi Yavetz, "Judeophobia in Classical Antiquity: A Different Approach," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 1–22; Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 442–46. On the relationship of these motifs with ancient anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, Schäfer *Judeophobia*, argues, "The Jews as the 'evil incarnate,' denying and perverting in their xenophobic and misanthropic hatred of all cherished values of humankind, conspiring against the civilized world – this, I would like to argue, is the allegation which crosses the line from the 'justifiable' to the 'unjustifiable,' from 'anti-Judaism' to 'anti-Semitism,'" 206. Similarly, Sevenster, *Pagan Anti-Semitism*, 89, argues, "the most fundamental reason for pagan anti-Semitism almost always proves to lie in the [perceived] strangeness of the Jews amidst ancient society. They were strange in the sense that in practically all the countries of the ancient world they were immigrants. This was a strangeness they had in common with various other peoples, but the strangeness that astonished and very soon offended the people in whose midst they lived lay in their way of life and their customs, which always forced a certain degree of segregation upon them... Pagan anti-Semitism in the ancient world is fundamentally of a religious character, even though its attacks were usually directed against the day-to-day way in which Jews lived, dictated as it was by the precepts of their religion. The Jews always entertain those bothersome scruples about participating in the rites and customs of a country's cult, and often, because of such ridiculous idiosyncrasies, they shun all those festivities in which all the others join in so joyously."

<sup>42</sup> Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 478–79.

Roman authors express remorse for ever annexing Judea in the first place. As Philostratus writes from a later period,

For the Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans but against humanity; and a people that has made its own a life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices, are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the more distant Indies. What sense then or reason was there in chastising them for revolting from us, whom we had better have never annexed?<sup>43</sup>

This perspective persists for centuries, re-articulated even later by Rutilius Namatianus: “And would that Judaea had never been subdued by Pompey’s wars and Titus’ military power! The infection of this plague, though excised, still creeps abroad the more.”<sup>44</sup>

Acts presupposes this pervasive prejudice as it portrays Jewish groups in Judea and the Diaspora as insular, bellicose, and hostile toward outsiders, especially followers of “the Way.” The Jews are stereotyped as a pressure group, able to instigate a mob scene at will, whose own way of existence is characterized by misanthropy and whose strange practices testify to their unsociability.

### Anti-Jewish Propaganda as Imperial Rhetoric

While the accusation of misanthropy was pervasive among the Greeks, it was a much less dominant theme in Roman literature – that is until the reign of

<sup>43</sup> Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 5.33 (trans. F. C. Conybeare, Loeb); Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 452, argues, “The assertion that it would have been better not to annex the Jews is new and relatively rare. We shall encounter it below in a statement by Rutilius Namatianus. The claim that they are unsociable is familiar, but it is interesting to see the specific reasons: the refusal to eat and worship together. Noteworthy is furthermore the assertion that the Jews are more remote than the farthest peoples of the world.”

<sup>44</sup> Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo* 1.395–8; Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 462; Stern, *Greek and Latin*, no. 542; Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 87–89; 163–70. Many scholars argue that Greek and Roman rejection of Jews because of their customs may have originated in Hellenistic Egypt, as Isaac notes, “If so, this is remarkable, for the Egyptians themselves were regarded in this light by the Greeks and Romans. The Egyptian people ‘resembles only itself,’ says the treatise on *Airs, Waters, Places*, 19. Herodotus (2.35) writes about Egypt that the climate and rivers, as well as the manners and customs of the people, are the reverse of those in the rest of the world. As for the Jews, even if the idea of their separateness did originate in Egypt, it subsequently became firmly entrenched in Roman literature. Tacitus returns to these themes. He is one of the two Roman authors to repeat the Egyptian-Hellenistic tradition, which claimed that the Jews were expelled from Egypt because they suffered from a plague.” See also Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.3.1; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*.



Trajan, when the theme gets picked up and intensified by Roman authors, most notably Tacitus and Juvenal. In the twelfth year of Trajan's reign, Tacitus wrote in book 5 of his *Histories*,

[A]mong themselves they [the Jews] are inflexibly honest and ever ready to show compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies. They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation, they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; among themselves nothing is unlawful. Circumcision was adopted by them as a mark of difference from other men. Those who are converted to their way of life accept the same practice, and the earliest habit they adopt is to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to regard their parents, children, and brothers as of little consequence.<sup>45</sup>

This text represents the resurrection and intensification of the age-old misanthropy theme during the reign of Trajan.<sup>46</sup> Tacitus detests the Jews because of their refusal to participate in the Roman world and fears the problems this might cause as they continue to attract sympathizers who could infiltrate Roman society.<sup>47</sup> Ritual observances, such as abiding by dietary laws, circumcision, and keeping the Sabbath, were seen as contributing to their image as an antisocial people who intentionally separate themselves from the rest of the world.<sup>48</sup>

Juvenal's *Satires*, also written during the reign of Trajan, similarly derides the Jews and their sympathizers for being misanthropic and upholding strange practices of Sabbath observance, worshipping the clouds, circumcision, and avoiding pork.<sup>49</sup> Juvenal writes:

<sup>45</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5. Italics mine, quoted in Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 452–53.

<sup>46</sup> Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 33.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 194. As Schafer argues, "If we try to determine more closely what distinguishes his [Tacitus'] description of Jewish superstition from that of other peoples, it is clearly the incomparably aggravated anger and contempt which characterizes Tacitus' attacks on the Jews. This, in turn, is an expression of his incomprehension of the paradox that the Jews refuse to be part of the Roman world and at the same time succeed in proselytizing, in infiltrating Roman society. The human sacrifices of the Britons and the Germans are horribly barbaric, the Egyptians are fanatical and awfully superstitious, but the true danger for Roman civilization is the Jews – and the Christians. The German superstition does not pose any danger to Rome; the Egyptian does to a certain degree, but it can be constrained (by contempt, proper education, and, if necessary, the appropriate intervention of the authorities); the Jewish/Christian superstition threatens to get out of control." *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>48</sup> Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 480; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 231–32.

<sup>49</sup> For another contemporary anti-Jewish text, see *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs*, which dates from the year 115 CE.

Some who have had a father who reveres the Sabbath, worship nothing but the clouds, and the divinity of the heavens, and see no difference between eating swine's flesh, from which their father abstained, and that of man; and in time they take to circumcision. Having been wont to flout the laws of Rome, they learn and practice and revere the Jewish law, and all that Moses committed to his secret tome, forbidding to point out the way to any not worshipping the same rites, and conducting none but the circumcised to the desired fountain.<sup>50</sup>

According to Juvenal, the Jewish way of life leads individuals to hate anyone who is not a part of the group to the extent that they are unwilling even to direct non-Jews asking for directions or lead a thirsty man to a source of water. It is suggested by some scholars that this may allude to a prohibition against showing the "way" to Gentiles, or, rather, teaching the Torah to non-Jews.<sup>51</sup> The Jewish law was seen by Juvenal to conflict with Roman law, with Jews blindly observing the former at the neglect of the latter. Regarding the severity of such an accusation, Louis Freeman argues, "For a nation such as Rome that justly prided itself on the development of an extremely comprehensive and fair system of law, there was almost no charge graver than this."<sup>52</sup> In both Tacitus and Juvenal, Jewish practices are seen as instruments that serve to erect barriers between Jews and their neighbors.

### Anti-Jewish Rhetoric during the Reign of Trajan

It is my contention that the resurrection of the misanthropy theme in Roman literature is the product of a growing cultural conflict between Romans and Jews – a conflict that peaked during the reign of Trajan, generating a greater intensity of anti-Jewish propaganda. As Goodman argues, "I shall single out the years of Trajan's rule as the period in which it seemed to become clear for the first time that Jews would not be able to live under Roman rule without suffering religious persecution."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, 14:96–106; Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 454.

<sup>51</sup> Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 129.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>53</sup> Martin Goodman, "Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews," *Past and Present* 182 (2004): 21. There were certainly exceptions to such negative valuations. Freeman succinctly summarizes these positive remarks: "the picture painted by the ancient intellectuals with regard to the Jews is not one-sided. Indeed, even such detractors of the Jews as Tacitus (*Histories* 5.5.1), at the beginning of the second century, grant the legitimacy for certain rites of the Jews, such as the Sabbath, the observance of Passover, and abstention from pork, by virtue of their antiquity. Similarly, the second-century Celsus (quoted in Origen, *Against Celsus* 5.25), though generally critical of the Jews, is ready to grant that their worship may be

The status of Jews in the empire fluctuated dramatically between the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian.<sup>54</sup> During the reign of the Julio-Claudian emperors, Romans seem to have regarded Judaea as undeserving of much consideration. It was a territory that required little military attention since it posed little threat to Rome's sovereignty. The outbreak of revolt in 66–73 CE, however, proved to be a turning point for Jewish–Roman relations in Judea and throughout the Diaspora communities.<sup>55</sup> An index for this change in perspective is the prominence of anti-Jewish propaganda in the period that followed. The rebellion and its concomitant suppression was claimed by the Flavian dynasty as a legitimizing strategy aimed at ameliorating any questions of Flavian ascension to the throne, pertaining to the family's low birth or their usurpation of power in the civil war of 69 CE. The defeat of the Jews was celebrated as Rome's victory over barbarian oriental foreigners and the Flavians were acknowledged as protectors of Rome's empire.

In spite of the significant losses to Roman troops during the war, Titus celebrated an early triumph in Rome for his victory over the dangerous foreigners. The city center was embellished visually to celebrate this victory. The most visible of these monumental displays was the Temple of Peace, which was likely under construction from the very beginning of Vespasian's reign.<sup>56</sup> Its primary message was that peace had been restored following a tumultuous period of civil war and the Judean War itself.<sup>57</sup> The space served as a public museum with one of the most elaborate displays of art in Rome that included a plethora of statues, as well as the spoils from Jerusalem. Josephus reports that the Flavians recovered the sacred utensils of the recently destroyed Jerusalem Temple and put them on display in a

very peculiar, but at least it is traditional, which is not true of Christianity. Indeed, he notes that in this respect the Jews behave like the rest of humanity, in that each nation follows its traditional customs, whatever kind they may happen to be," 130.

<sup>54</sup> Louis Freeman, *Jews and Gentiles*, 92–102.

<sup>55</sup> In spite of these changes, there was much continuity in the privileges Romans afforded Jews in the empire. See Freeman, *Jews and Gentiles*, 98.

<sup>56</sup> Fergus Millar, "Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome." Page 110 in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (eds. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Millar supports this claim based on the quote from Cassius Dio who refers to its dedication in 75 CE: "In the sixth consulship of Vespasian and the fourth of Titus the precinct of Pax was dedicated and the 'Colossus' was set up on the Sacred Way. This statue is said to have been one hundred feet in height and to have borne the features of Nero, according to some, or those of Titus, according to others (66.15.1, Loeb Tran.)," 109–10.

<sup>57</sup> See discussion of the "Templum Pacis," in *ibid.*, 110.

newly constructed temple precinct dedicated to Peace.<sup>58</sup> There were three other major monuments constructed in Rome to commemorate the war. Two of these monuments were either entirely or partially completed during the reign of Titus (79–81 CE), namely the famous Colosseum (80 CE) and the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus (81 CE).<sup>59</sup> The third monument, the surviving Arch of Titus, was completed after Titus's death by his brother Domitian. It is likely, however, that the Colosseum and both arches were under construction while Vespasian was still alive; this is certainly true at least of the Colosseum.<sup>60</sup> While the two arches were built at different locations, they served a common purpose as strategic monuments celebrating the Flavians as the restorers of peace and the victors over oriental barbarism.<sup>61</sup> As a consequence of this rebellion, the Jews of the empire were prohibited from sending the accustomed half-shekel to Jerusalem as an offering for the maintenance of the Temple and its sacrifices. As a substitution in its place, all Jews in the empire were required to pay this in support of the rebuilding of the temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill in Rome, which was ravaged by fire as a result of the civil war in 69 CE.<sup>62</sup>

While Vespasian and Titus benefited greatly from the Judean war and the symbolic capital it brought them in the visual display of their victory in Rome, the third and last emperor of the Flavian dynasty, Domitian, could not claim the victory as his own, since he was not present in Judaea during the war. Due to his lack of military accomplishments and the little attention

<sup>58</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.123–62. Goodman argues, “Despite the skepticism of many modern scholars, [Josephus'] version is probably correct, since he was present in the Roman camp during the siege and was writing for others who had been there also, but once the Temple had been destroyed, it was impossible for the new Roman regime to apologise for the destruction. Apology would suggest error and the possibility that the powerful god of the Jews would spurn the new emperor who had destroyed his sanctuary. Better by far to claim implicitly that the destruction was deliberate and a reason for celebration,” Martin Goodman, “Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War,” Pages 23–29 in *The Bar Kokhba War: New Perspectives* (ed. Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 24.

<sup>59</sup> Fergus Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome,” Page 113 in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (eds. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>60</sup> Regarding the silence about the “Colosseum” in earlier literature, Millar notes, “Given the scale of the Colosseum, and the impact which the process of constructing it must have had in Rome, either Pliny or Josephus (in the *Jewish War*) might indeed have referred to it as a prospective major monument which was in the course being offered to the public by Vespasian. But in the event neither does, and the earliest allusions to it in literature are to the first shows to be given there, by Titus in 80.” *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>61</sup> The Arch that remains standing in Rome today was built overlooking the imperial fora, while the other commemorative arch was constructed on the triumphal route. Goodman, “Bar Kokhba War,” 24.

<sup>62</sup> Cassius Dio 66.7.2.

that was afforded to him as one who stood in the shadows of his father and brother's fame, upon his accession, he needed to advertise his familial connection and so dedicated the Arch of Titus out of familial loyalty to his brother's victory. Consequently, there appears to have been another issue of the Judea Capta coin series toward the beginning of his reign in the mid-80s CE.<sup>63</sup>

Upon Domitian's death and Nerva's subsequent enthronement, the new emperor exerted much energy to distance himself from the tyrannical ways of his predecessor.<sup>64</sup> One of the strategies used to accomplish this was by instituting a change in the Jewish tax, which may have helped some in reconsidering their attitudes toward the Jews, albeit only temporarily. Nerva issued coins in the city of Rome that proclaimed "*Fisci Iudaici Calumnia Sublata*."<sup>65</sup> The precise meaning has been debated.<sup>66</sup> Molly Whittaker provides a sufficient gloss: "abolition of malicious prosecution in connection with the Jewish tax."<sup>67</sup> On one side of the coin is an image of the profile of Nerva's head, while on the obverse side there is an image of a palm tree, a typical symbol to denote Judaea on Roman coins. The overall message is generally interpreted as advertising a beneficial message for Jews.<sup>68</sup> Martin Goodman has convincingly argued that the coins signal a change in the policies governing Roman-Jewish relations; specifically, the abolition of Jewish tax during the reign of Nerva.<sup>69</sup> Goodman and others interpret the reign of Nerva as a period in which the Jews might reasonably hope to be allowed to rebuild their Temple that lay in ruins for the last twenty-six years.<sup>70</sup> This

<sup>63</sup> Goodman, "Bar Kokhba War," 26.

<sup>64</sup> According to Suetonius *Domitian* 12; 15.1; Dio Cassius 67.14.1–2; Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.19–20.

<sup>65</sup> These coins are large bronze sesterces, with the head and titles of Nerva on one side, and an image of a palm tree on the other side. The image of the palm tree is regularly used in Roman iconography to depict Judaea. Goodman argues, "The coins were produced in two separate issues in 96 C.E., in mid autumn and in December, with a third issued in the first half of 97 C.E... These coins have been taken by many scholars as particularly significant evidence of the evolving relationship in the imperial period both between the Roman state and the Jews and, more specifically, between the Roman state and gentiles attracted to Judaism." Goodman, "Bar Kokhba War," 81.

<sup>66</sup> D. C. A. Shotter, "The Principate of Nerva: Some Observations on the Coin Evidence," *Historia* 32 (1983), 218–20.

<sup>67</sup> Molly Whittaker, *Jews and Christians: Graeco-Roman Views* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 105.

<sup>68</sup> Goodman, "Bar Kokhba War," 26.

<sup>69</sup> This line of interpretation was suggested, though not endorsed, by Harold Mattingly and Edward A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume II: Vespasian to Hadrian* (London: Spink and Son, 1968), 221.

<sup>70</sup> Martin Goodman, *Roman World 44BC–180AD* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

would signal the first time in a whole generation that the Romans' harsh policy and attitude toward the Jews might ameliorate and provide new opportunities for improving their status in the empire. Nerva's adoption of Trajan in the autumn of 97 CE, however, coincided with a change in imperial policy toward Jews in the empire. Coins advertising *Fisci Iudaici Columnia Sublata* were no longer minted. One can only imagine the disappointment facing Jews around the empire after reimposing the special tax, triggering a new era of Jewish discontentment, which proved "proportionately bitter and its effects dire."<sup>71</sup>

The growing conflict between Romans and Jews continued to worsen during the reign of Trajan.<sup>72</sup> Trajan's rise to power depended largely on his own military achievements on the Northern Frontier, but also on his family's reputation for military excellence. Trajan's father and homonym, M. Ulpius Traianus, rose from a *novus homo* to patrician status due to the patronage of Vespasian. As one of the three legionary legates in the Judean war, Traianus served alongside Titus and under Vespasian, supporting them both in their rise to power. The repercussion of Trajan's family link to the Judean war was enough to end Nerva's beneficent policies to the Jews. Thus, Trajan publicly emphasized the reputation of his father, who was deified by 112 CE, alongside his adopted father, Nerva.<sup>73</sup>

From 114 to 117 CE, Trajan and the Roman army went on campaign to the East, waging war against the Parthians. During this period of imperial expansion, Jews in the Diaspora and Judea revolted, provoking the attention of Trajan's legions.<sup>74</sup> These revolts were likely of greater importance to those Jews living outside Judea than the Jewish revolts of 66–73 and 132–135. The outbreaks involved Jews in Libya, Egypt, Cyprus, Judaea, and even possibly Mesopotamia as well.<sup>75</sup> These uprisings are noteworthy for being the only instance of Jewish violence on a grand scale outside Judaea that involved

<sup>71</sup> Goodman "Bar Kokhba War," 89.

<sup>72</sup> For a concise review of the literary evidence for the status of Jews under Trajan, see E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule, From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations* (Vol. 20) (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 424–27.

<sup>73</sup> As Goodman argues, "Thus, however much his son Trajan might be willing to acquiesce in Nerva's policy of a *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, the reputation of Vespasian and Titus as great generals was important for Trajan's self-image and could not be similarly denigrated. It is striking that, once emperor, Trajan emphasized in public the great reputation of his natural father, who was eventually deified in 112 CE, alongside that of the imperial father Nerva who had adopted him." "Bar Kokhba War," 27.

<sup>74</sup> Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 389–427.

<sup>75</sup> Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 104.

simultaneous outbreaks in different geographical locations. The results were catastrophic for the communities involved, with estimates of over 100,000 left dead and numerous religious sites destroyed, thus leading to the intensification of Jewish discontent and mistreatment. What exactly happened? How did these events transpire? What is the relationship between the scattered uprisings? Were they coordinated attempts with delegates moving between each location? There is much uncertainty regarding the specifics of these events due to the nature of our sources, which do not always agree and concern themselves more with the fighting involved than the motivations.<sup>76</sup>

That these uprisings coincided with Trajan's eastern campaign is uncontested. What remains to be debated, however, is the relationship between this campaign and the uprisings, as well as the motivations that lie behind them.<sup>77</sup> Some argue that the uprisings were triggered by those who were displaced after the First Jewish War, while others argue that it was motivated by heightened messianic expectations, and some see it as a combination of both.<sup>78</sup> It is widely held that the ferment was, at least in part, the result of a general discontent among Jews for their mistreatment in the destruction of the Temple and the *fiscus Judaicus*.<sup>79</sup> James Bloom argues, "On first sight, the extensive and ferocious Jewish mutinies during the reign of Trajan

<sup>76</sup> James J. Bloom, *The Jewish Revolts against Rome, A.D. 66–135: A Military Analysis* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2010), 180.

<sup>77</sup> "These 60 years of bloody confrontation between Jews and the Roman Empire find no parallel anywhere else in the Roman world. Although the threat posed by the Germanic and Scythian tribes, for example, during the second century far exceeded the trouble caused by the Jews, and although the Romans also faced many other upheavals within the empire's borders (including Boadicca's rebellion in Britain and serious uprisings in Gaul), the Jewish uprisings were more persistent and extensive. Scores of Jewish communities throughout the Mediterranean suffered from the conflicts, or encountered the suffering of fellow Jews, whether through the death of family members, their sale into slavery or prostitution, or the official confiscation of property and land. Imperial propaganda, especially of the Flavians but also of Hadrian, spread the word of Jewish defeat and hardship even further in the form of 'Judaea Capta' coinage and by legislation; it was advertised through triumphal art and architecture (the arch of Titus being the most famous example). The horrendous outcome of these conflicts became a fundamental component of the experience and consciousness of the generations that followed, shaping the Jewish historical heritage, collective memory, and sense of identity." Yaron Eliav, "Jews and Judaism 70–429 CE," Pages 565–86 in *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (ed. David S. Potter; Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 571.

<sup>78</sup> Bloom, *The Jewish Revolts against Rome*, 179.

<sup>79</sup> In support of this view, James Bloom argues, "We can safely say that a general ferment prevailed at the time among the Jews, caused by the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 and by the demeaning *fiscus Judaicus*, which compelled all Jews to pay an annual poll tax to the Roman state. Jewish texts composed in this epoch, such as the Third Sibylline Oracle, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch insist on an impending cataclysm resulting from a combination of the current political situation, on the imminent coming of the Messiah, the destruction of the wicked, the ingathering of the exiles, the restoration of the Jewish state, and the rebuilding



appear to have erupted out of nowhere. However, if we take into account the prolonged and profound social alienation between Jews and non-Jews, the aggressiveness of the Jewish uprising in A.D. 116–117 and its equally fierce suppression makes more sense.”<sup>80</sup> The Jews taking up arms at this particular time may have to do with the opportunistic time of Trajan being occupied with the war against the Parthians.

In addition to these causes, there were local factors at play that provoked the uprisings. For instance, Cassius Dio reports that the Jews in Libya attacked their Greek and Roman neighbors with the utmost cruelty, as violent disturbers of the peace.<sup>81</sup> Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev notes, however, that while these details have historically been treated by scholars as objective historical descriptions, it should be considered within the context of vindictive rhetoric whereby Romans contrast their barbarian enemies with themselves.<sup>82</sup> She notes, “The atrocities attributed to the Jews by Dio are no more striking than the ones he attributes to the Britons when they were revolting against the Romans in 61 CE (62.7.1–3), or to the Bucoli, who revolted against the Romans in 61 CE (62.7.1–3), or to the Bucoli, who revolted in Egypt in 171 CE (71.4.1).”<sup>83</sup>

At around the same time as the events in Libya transpired, Jews in Egypt also arose in conflict with their fellow non-Jewish neighbors.<sup>84</sup> According to Eusebius, leaders of the uprising in Libya were acting in alliance with the Jews in Egypt, and at some point the Jews in Libya crossed over into Egypt;

of the Temple in Jerusalem. Surely these second century A.D. texts signify that something was afoot.” *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>80</sup> Bloom, *The Jewish Revolts against Rome*, 183.

<sup>81</sup> 68.32.1.

<sup>82</sup> See the work of Schmidt, which succinctly surveys sources from the reign of Trajan and their depiction of barbarians, Thomas S. Schmidt, “Plutarch’s Timeless Barbarians and the Age of Trajan.” Pages 57–71 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)* (eds. Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002). As Kampen astutely observes, “Comparing Trajan to the conquered Dacian men reveals the nature of his ideal Roman manliness. The artists used group direction, pose and gesture, and facial expression to make Dacian defeat clear and convincing. Whereas the Romans march and fight facing to the right most of the time (when they are in or around a fort they sometimes move to the left toward the fort), the Dacians move to the left to fight (unless they are in relation to a fort or are surrounded or being chased).” Natalie Kampen, “Looking at Gender: The Column of Trajan and Roman Historical Relief.” Pages 46–73 in *Feminisms in the Academy* (eds. Domna C. Stanton and Abigail J. Stewart; Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 60.

<sup>83</sup> Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, “The Uprisings in the Jewish Diaspora.” Pages 93–104 in *Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume 4. The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. Steven Katz; New York: Cambridge, 2006), 94. See also A. M. Schwemer, “Der jüdische Aufstand in der Diaspora unter Trajan (115–117 n.Chr.),” *Biblische Notizen.*, no. 148 (2011): 85–100.

<sup>84</sup> On the problems of dating, see *ibid.*, 95.

however, the connection between these two uprisings is still questioned.<sup>85</sup> The significance of the Egyptian turmoil was the geographical spread of the conflict.<sup>86</sup> Eusebius wrote that in response to these uprisings, Trajan sent “Marcius Turbo with land and sea forces including cavalry. He waged war vigorously against them in many battles for a considerable time and killed many thousands of Jews, not only those of Cyrene but also those of Egypt.”<sup>87</sup> The consequence was cataclysmic for the Jews in this area. The contemporary writer Appian reports that Trajan “exterminated” the Jewish race in Egypt, which was most likely a gross exaggeration, but may illustrate the severity of the tragedy.<sup>88</sup>

Simultaneously with the uprisings in Libya and Egypt, Jews in Cyprus also began to wage war with their neighbors. Cassius Dio reports that as a consequence of the Jewish revolt, Jews were not permitted to set foot on Cyprus, even if driven upon the island by a storm, or they would be put to death.<sup>89</sup> While this statement has been doubted by certain scholars, there is no evidence of Jewish presence on Cyprus until the fourth century CE in the epigraphical material.<sup>90</sup>

There is mixed evidence in the sources as to whether there was also a Jewish rebellion at this time in Mesopotamia.<sup>91</sup> While Dio does not mention any, Eusebius reports there was in *Chronicon*, yet in *HE* Eusebius reports that Trajan was only suspicious that such an uprising could occur.<sup>92</sup> Pucci Ben Zeev explains the situation as follows:

If this identification is correct, the Jewish revolt was an episode of the Parthian war meant to prevent Roman conquest. It was certainly not fortuitous that in Mesopotamia the Jews armed themselves and banded together

<sup>85</sup> Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.2.3.

<sup>86</sup> Pucci Ben Zeev, *Cambridge History of Judaism*, 95, according to papyri the conflict took place in “the Athribite district, the vicinity of Memphis (*CPJ* II 438–9) – a strategic center known for its anti-semitism – the Fayum (*CPJ* II 449), Oxyrhynchos (*CPJ* II 445, 447, 450), and the Herakleopolite nome (*CPJ* II 445). Further south, the effects of fighting are recorded for the Kynopolite (*CPJ* II 445), the Hermopolite (*CPJ* II 436, 438, 442, 443, 446), as well as the Lycopolite and the Apollinopolite districts (*CPJ* II 444, 436).”

<sup>87</sup> *HE* 4.2.3–4.

<sup>88</sup> BC 2.90; Maria Pucci Ben Zeev, “Greek Attacks against Alexandrian Jews During Emperor Trajan’s Reign,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 20, no. 1 (1989): 31–48.

<sup>89</sup> 68.32.3.

<sup>90</sup> Pucci Ben Zeev, *CHJ*, 98.

<sup>91</sup> Sources concerning this campaign are fraught with problems. As Mattern notes, “The temptation to exaggerate the distances progressed, to convert villages into cities, and perhaps even to invent non-existent people must have been overwhelming. Trajan wrote to the senate during his Parthian expedition that he had progressed farther than Alexander, and Caracalla boasted in his letters that he had subjected the entire east. Both claims, of course, were wildly exaggerated.” Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 33.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

with the other local population groups. This fact may well be explained by the relatively good position enjoyed by the Jews in the Parthian Empire, at least when compared with that of their brethren under the Roman government.<sup>93</sup>

There are several sources that seem to indicate that an uprising also simultaneously took place in Judaea. While the details of what actually took place are unclear, it was significant enough to initiate a change in Judaea's status from a praetorian to a consular province, which brought with it the addition of a second legion.<sup>94</sup>

For the Romans, the greatest consequence of this series of Jewish uprisings is that the Romans were unsuccessful in permanently extending their *imperium* and maintaining control of the Parthian kingdom. This was largely the result of the Jewish uprisings, which required Trajan to remove some of his best generals from the Parthian front. Although the Romans were eventually successful in suppressing the revolts, it ultimately compromised their mission to annex Mesopotamia.<sup>95</sup> Because of the Jewish revolts, the most ambitious military undertaking in the history of the empire, at least since Augustus, failed.

The consequence of these bloody conflicts served a critical role in shaping the perception and status of Jews throughout the empire.<sup>96</sup> It likely led to a perspective of the Jews as the opponents of Rome's own triumphal expansion, a striking parallel with their depiction in Acts, as they appear opposing Paul's own expansionistic movement. The image of the Jews that emerges in Acts seems to reflect these new developments of anti-Jewish propaganda and policy during the reign of Trajan.<sup>97</sup>

While the narrative of Paul and Barnabas being pressured out of the city by a jealous group of Jews in Pisidian Antioch adopts the long-standing perspective of the Jews as misanthropic, it couples it with another motif

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 99–100.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 102–3.

<sup>96</sup> Eliav, "Jews and Judaism 70–429 CE," 571.

<sup>97</sup> In an appendix to his book *Dating Acts*, Richard Pervo briefly described the same diaspora revolt as a "highly suitable context for Acts' portrait of the Jews as a subversive, disobedient, and violently obstinate people, and thus to suggest that this portrait did not depend upon animosities aroused by the rebellion of the 60s – antipathies that some might imagine to have faded by the second decade of the second century... Those inclined to date Acts in the second century will regard this period of revolt as part of the milieu for Luke's depiction of the Jews as threats to security and stability... hostility between Jews and others did not appear out of the blue one fine day in the year 115. Rather, what occurred was the eruption of a volcano that had long been belching fire and smoke." Richard Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 369–71.

that reflects Acts' contemporary situation of anti-Jewish propaganda during the reign of Trajan. Thus, when the entire city responds with favor to Paul's preaching by being glad and praising the word of the Lord, the Jews form into a pressure group and incite the crowd, chasing Paul and Barnabas out of town. The pairing of expanding influence with Jewish resistance reflects new developments of anti-Jewish propaganda during the reign of Trajan.<sup>98</sup> In Acts, the Jews are stereotyped as inherently bellicose and hostile toward the expansion of any collective entity other than their own and ready to exercise as much pressure as necessary to restrict the expansion of "the Way."

### Representations of Barbarians on the Column of Trajan

Before closing, I would like to bring a few images from the Column of Trajan in dialogue with Acts, in order to further advance the argument that Acts adopts a Roman imperial perspective in its depiction of "the Jews." The Column of Trajan is roughly contemporaneous with the compositional date of Acts, Tacitus's *Histories*, and Juvenal's *Satires*, and reflects similar representational strategies. As demonstrated in [Chapters 1](#) and [3](#), there are a number of similarities between the book of Acts and the winding relief, least of all that both chose similar rhetorical styles as the principal means of glorifying their protagonists. To extend this comparison here, however, there are a number of correlations in the strategies used in Acts to fashion an identity of "the Way" and contemporary Roman imperial strategies as reflected on the Column.

The importance placed on the detailed depictions of barbarians on the Column indicates how central "the other" was in discourses of Roman imperialism.<sup>99</sup> Great concern and detail is given to the careful depiction of various ethnographic markers, such as physiognomy, hair type, and costume.<sup>100</sup> The first few spirals depict the Roman army entering Dacia not as a war machine, but as a benevolent force that has come to bring civilization.

<sup>98</sup> Following World War II, several scholars have accused Luke of being anti-Semitic. An example of one who defends Luke from such claims is Walter Liefeld, who argues, "Luke shows such interest in the positive response of individual Jews that it would be unfair to consider him to be anti-semitic at those times when he identifies the negative response of what might be 'official' Judaism. To be sure, he quotes statements in the speeches that lay heavy blame on the Jewish society (Acts 2:23), but he also describes the Roman judiciary as sharing in the blame (Acts 4:27). And after instances when Paul is rejected by synagogue audiences, he is still ready to welcome Jews who believe, and Gentiles as well (Acts 17:5-12)." Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts* (Guides to New Testament exegesis 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995), 95.

<sup>99</sup> On Rome's attitude toward foreigners, see Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*, 1979.

<sup>100</sup> I. M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 65-66, "one of the first things that strikes the viewer is that there was a concerted effort by the artist to represent the Dacians

Thus, the Roman legions are depicted building better civic structures than actively engaged in war.

By way of contrast, however, Dacians are depicted as markedly non-Romans who resist being incorporated into the Roman model and violently oppose Trajan's civilizing program. Scenes xxiv–xxv detail the first battle and constitute one of the longest sequences on the Column. Trajan stands removed from the violence on the left watching the battle take place as cavalry charge at the Dacians to stomp them down under foot. Meanwhile, two auxiliaries hold up the severed heads of the enemy to show Trajan. Dacians lie trampled under foot as auxiliaries hoist up their spears to stab the defeated foe down below. Jupiter appears hurling down lightning bolts fighting on the Romans' behalf. Thus, heaven and earth join together in the fight to tame the ferrel barbarians and bring civilization to this distant land. All while the Dacian king, Decebalus, appears off in the distance hiding with his entourage amid the trees watching the ensuing battle. A few Dacians are lucky enough to survive and carry off their defeated comrades while another limps away hunched over and badly wounded (scene xxiv; see [Figure 15](#)).

Scenes lxx–lxxi depict a later battle with Roman legions on the left and the Dacians on the right, the two groups are divided and contrasted by a diagonal line of shields. Lying at the bottom of the frame are the defeated Dacians, depicted here in stereotypical fashion, the ultimate consequence of any barbarian group who dares to resist Rome's expansionistic, incorporative enterprise (see [Figure 16](#)).

Eventually, the wisest of Dacians bow allegiance before their new Lord, with Trajan receiving them as his subjects with mercy and forgiveness. Further up the column, a later event is depicted with the emperor approaching a Dacian city on his second campaign; he has supporters left in place to welcome him back to Dacia. Men, women, and children are present to greet

as a distinct ethnic group rather than as undifferentiated, generic barbarians, as was often to be the case in Roman art... As a general observation, on the column the figures of the Dacians are often used in a purely contrastive way, dismantling their fortresses before the arrival of Roman forces, in contrast to an almost exaggerated concentration on the building and construction work being carried out by the Roman troops. Perhaps significantly, these troops are almost exclusively legionaries rather than auxiliaries. This seems to be part of an overall narrative thread that stresses a sense of overwhelming order among the victors and disorder among the defeated barbarians. This is also something that will be noted in the discussion of the Great Trajanic Frieze, but there the contrast was achieved by a different compositional strategy." Cf. Roger Tones, "Why Did Paul Get His Hair Cut? (Acts 18.18; 21.23–24)," in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (ed. C. M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 188–97.



15. Scene xxiv: Cavalry charge at Dacians on horseback.



16. Scenes LXX–LXXI: Romans and Dacians divided by diagonal shields.



the arrival of their emperor. Meanwhile, the rest of the Dacians continue with their guerilla warfare, hiding out in heavily forested regions and hoping that they can withhold Roman advances.<sup>101</sup> It is just a matter of time before more and more Dacians turn to the emperor for mercy, to which he responds by pardoning them of their “sins.” On the Column, Dacians are depicted as a distinct ethnic group rather than as undifferentiated, generic barbarians. They are depicted as inherently bellicose and emotional, constructed in purely contrastive ways in order to show the superiority of Roman discipline and self-restraint. As Greg Woolf argues,

Barbarism in its lowest form was the absence of these qualities, and as a result barbarians were imperfect humans, part way to beasts. The moral qualities attributed to them, both in casual comments and in the ethnographies, were bestial. Barbarians were *feroces*, wild like beasts. Their *feritas* was exhibited both in warlike, irrational behaviour and they were also marked out by strange styles of clothing, eating habits and their language. They lacked, in other words, both the general moral qualities of human beings and the culture that defined the Roman elite.<sup>102</sup>

Certain scenes of the column are calculated precisely to highlight the more civilized nature of Roman ways and to construct a sharp contrast.

The book of Acts served as an apostolic monument in representing the conquest of “the Way” as a benevolent, civilizing force that transforms the barbarous forces of the world, such as Saul of Tarsus, who ferociously swept city-to-city to kill innocent victims transformed into an exemplar of imperial virtues, demonstrating courage, resolve, and piety. In line with other representational strategies at that time, however, one’s own qualities were brought into sharp relief when juxtaposed with an outside group most often depicted in largely contrastive ways. As a result, Acts’ depiction of the Jews is quite brutal, in spite of certain attempts among some scholars to absolve Acts from anti-Judaism. Acts aspired to participate in the discourses of empire of its time by monumentalizing a public image of “the Way” that extends imperial discourse to itself while promulgating anti-Jewish propaganda developing during the reign of Trajan.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> As Kampen notes, “Like other Roman monuments and texts, it posits the need for continual struggle to maintain victory, and it depicts manliness in large measure as the willingness to engage in that struggle while conforming to certain (often unspoken) codes of decorum – codes that distinguish Roman from barbarian, noble from lowly, man from woman.” Kampen, “Looking at Gender,” 46.

<sup>102</sup> Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 60.

<sup>103</sup> As Edwards and Woolf argue in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, “Works of art which on one level served to represent the extent of Rome’s power over other cultures could also work to



### Conclusion: Acts and Jewish Customs

Acts' depiction of the Jews was not composed in a vacuum, but reflects Roman attitudes toward "the Jews" circulating during the reign of Trajan. Acts casts "the Jews" as misanthropic, a theme that was adopted from imperial rhetoric, while accommodated to Acts' own contemporary setting to reflect post-70 developments, specifically, anti-Jewish propaganda during the reign of the Roman emperor Trajan. Acts represents the Jews as a people group whose way of life is characteristically misanthropic, with little distinction between Jerusalem, Judaea, or the Diaspora, with geographically distant Jews acting in a single accord. They are depicted as lovers of their own group while openly hostile to outsiders, which give them mob power to exert pressure on local officials and the crowds.

Through Peter's encounter with Cornelius (Acts 10–11) and the broader debate over gentile converts' relation to the law (Acts 15), Acts makes a point to remove dietary restrictions and circumcision as requirements for gentile followers of the way.<sup>104</sup> As such, Christians cannot be accused of upholding Jewish antisocial customs because they have given up their *misoxena nomina* and have become exemplary citizens of the empire. Thus, they can no longer be identified by their otherness, exclusiveness, and misanthropy. Christians in Acts soften the continuation of these "strange" customs and adopt forms of conduct and policy that are more palatable to Roman sensibilities.<sup>105</sup>

This negative construction of the Jews serves an integral role in Acts' apologetic aims. Acts fashions an image of "the Way" that aspires to lend legitimacy and social capital to Christians living in the Roman Empire. Averil Cameron argues Christians were seen as the quintessential outsiders by authors such as Pliny, Tacitus, and Suetonius, and as early as the second century, started speaking and writing the "rhetoric of empire" as a strategy whereby they could write themselves into a position of power.<sup>106</sup> It is my contention that the book of Acts represents one of the clearest and earliest instances of Christians writing themselves out of a position of

convey the position of particular individuals drawing on new languages of power – indeed actually filling the shoes of the greatest of Greek rulers." Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, *Rome the Cosmopolis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 57.

<sup>104</sup> John Moxon, "Peter's Halakhic Nightmare: The 'Animal' Vision of Acts 10:9–16 in Jewish and Graeco-Roman Perspective" (PhD diss., Durham, NC: Durham University, 2011).

<sup>105</sup> Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000).

<sup>106</sup> Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of a Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 4.

complete disenfranchisement to a position of power by adopting the rhetoric of empire. Thus, it is no coincidence that the very group Acts others by characterizing in purely contrastive ways is the very same group serving such purposes in the empire's capital city. While the Jews became objects of imperialist discourse, Acts removes Christians from being implicated in this discourse while reinforcing the place of Jews in that discourse. As such, this negative construction of the Jews serves an integral role in Acts' apologetic aims. In the end, what is most concerning is the thought that Roman imperial ideology and discourse would play a major role in shaping the future of Jewish-Christian relations.

## WOMEN, GENDER, AND ROMAN IMPERIAL MASCULINITY

THIS FINAL CHAPTER WILL FOCUS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF women and gender in Acts. The majority of scholars agree that the manner in which Acts constructs gender has something to do with the Roman Empire, but differ significantly in how they relate the two. So, the primary purpose will be to analyze how Acts relates to imperial representations of gender to determine whether there are any meaningful connections that might elucidate the way Acts innovatively interfaces with broader representational trends and standards. Section One will survey the representation of women in both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>1</sup> Section Two will turn to recent approaches that consider how Luke-Acts relates to ancient masculinities. Section Three will observe the representation of women on the Column of Trajan. Section Four will demonstrate how women and gender constructions do indeed play a strategic role in the overall purpose of Acts. In the end, I hope to show how the neglect of visual representations has created a serious “blind spot” in scholarly assessments of gender representation in Acts.

<sup>1</sup> Amy-Jill Levine, *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004); Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe, eds., *Women's Bible Commentary* (Expanded Edition; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998); Amy-Jill Levine, *A Feminist Companion to Luke* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ross S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Christians and Jews in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo, eds., *Women and Christian Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Turid Karlsen Seim, *Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke and Acts* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).

### Women and Gender in Luke-Acts

Traditional scholarship on the representation of women in the Gospel of Luke has emphasized the attention women play in the extended narrative. After all, the Third Gospel contains more stories of women than any of the other canonical Gospels. Luke reproduces synoptic traditions about women such as the healing of Simon Peter's mother-in-law (Luke 4:38-39//Matthew 8:14-15//Mark 1:29-31); the woman who anoints Jesus at table (Luke 7:36-50//Matthew 26:6-13//Mark 14:3-9); Jairus's daughter and the woman with the hemorrhage (Luke 8:40-56//Matthew 9:18-26//Mark 5:21-43); the women at Jesus' tomb (Luke 24:1-11//Matthew 28:1-8; Mark 16:1-8). Furthermore, Luke's independent source material ("L") includes several additional stories of women that appear nowhere else except in the Third Gospel, including the annunciation scene where the angel visits Mary (Luke 1:5ff.); the canticle of Mary (Luke 1:46-55); the story of Elizabeth and the circumstances surrounding John the Baptist's birth (Luke 1:43-45); the prophet Anna in the Jerusalem temple at Jesus' dedication (Luke 2:36); raising the son of the widow of Nain (Luke 7:11-17); the women followers of Jesus in Galilee (Luke 8:1-3); the story of Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38-42); the healing of the crippled woman (Luke 13:10-17); the parable of the lost coin (Luke 15:8-10); the parable of the persistent widow and the judge (Luke 18:1-8); and Galilean women who prepared spices to anoint Jesus' body for burial (Luke 23:55-56).

Women are further highlighted in the narrative through a series of "gender pairings," where traditions of women and men are juxtaposed, frequently resulting in the veneration of women's faith over that of their male counterpart. For instance, Mary is depicted as having greater faith than Zechariah (Luke 1:11-20, 26-38); the woman who anoints Jesus' feet is shown to have greater faith than Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7:36-50); the widow's offering is commended over that of the rich men (Luke 21:1-4); the women's joyous response to the resurrection contrasts with the two disciples' sadness on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:1-10, 13-27). Due to the frequency by which women appear in Luke, the author has been characterized by some traditional interpretations as progressive for his day in acknowledging the equal share women held in the development of the early Jesus movement. The author has been commended as a fervent advocate for equal rights of women in representing proto-egalitarianism in the earliest years of the church. For these reasons, some have even gone so far as to speculate that the anonymous author may have even been a woman.

Feminist interpreters have challenged such surface readings and positivistic assessments of the Gospel of Luke, noting that just because the author includes more material about women in his story, this does not necessarily mean that he is keenly interested in enhancing or promoting the social status of women. Careful readings provoke critical questions of whether Luke should even be considered a “friend” of women, or an “enemy.” Jane Schaberg memorably argued that the Gospel of Luke is “an extremely dangerous text, perhaps the most dangerous in the Bible.”<sup>2</sup> The basis of such an allegation stems from the observation that even though women are included as followers of Jesus, they are more often than not depicted with relatively minor roles, objectified as passive recipients of Jesus’ teaching and healing, and subtly, but systematically, depicted as models of subordinate service and excluded from leadership roles that include major responsibilities.

Interpreters point out that the author redacts traditional stories of women, mostly from Mark, in ways that denigrate the role of women. For instance, while the woman who anoints Jesus’ feet may be a prophet in Mark, Luke casts the woman as a sinner from the city who repents and receives forgiveness (Mark 14:1–9//Luke 7:36–50). In Luke’s own source material, the story of Mary and Martha serves as representative of how the author venerates Mary who sits attentively at Jesus’ feet and learns in silence in contrast to her sister Martha’s management of the household (Luke 10:38–40). Moreover, the Gospel of Luke omits the names of the women at Jesus’ crucifixion even though they were available in his source material, and retained in the other Gospels (Matthew 27:55–56//Mark 15:40–41//John 19:25–27).<sup>3</sup> It is for these reasons and more that some feminist interpreters would agree wholeheartedly with Schaberg’s conclusion: “Claiming the authority of Jesus, this portrayal is an attempt to legitimate male dominance in the Christianity of the author’s time. It was successful. The danger lies in the subtle artistic power of the story to seduce the reader into uncritical acceptance of it as simple history, and into acceptance of the depicted gender roles as divinely ordained.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Jane Schaberg, “Luke,” in *Women’s Bible Commentary*, 363.

<sup>3</sup> Clarice Martin, “The Acts of the Apostles,” Pages 763–99 in *Searching the Scriptures. II. A Feminist Commentary* (ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza; New York: Crossroad, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Schaberg, “Luke,” in *Women’s Bible Commentary*, 363. D’Angelo, provides good examples of those instances where Luke adds men to stories of women in Mark: “Jesus’ death is watched by ‘all his acquaintances’ (Lk 23.49) as well as by the women who appear in Mk 15.40–41. Not only the women, but also Simon Peter visit the tomb (Lk. 24.12), and their message is first disbelieved, then superseded by the visions of the two disciples (24.13–35), Simon (24.34), and the Twelve and those with them (24.36–53; perhaps including the women, 24.10).” Mary Rose D’Angelo, “The ANHP Question in Luke–Acts: Imperial Masculinity and the Deployment of Women in the Early Second Century,” Page 45 in *A Feminist Companion*

Luke's interest in the representation of women is further complicated in discussions of his second volume, Acts, where women are mentioned significantly less than the first Gospel.<sup>5</sup> From the outset of the story, Acts constructs a disparity between men and women. After Jesus' ascension to heaven, a group of men and women followers meet in a room in Jerusalem to pray. While the men are identified by name, Mary, the mother of Jesus, is the only named woman though others are present and the male disciples are named (Acts 1:14). Immediately following this episode, Acts details the election of a twelfth apostle to replace Judas, and it is explicitly stated that one of the requirements is that the replacement had to be a man. These instances signal from the outset that women will not have equal standing with men in the unfolding narrative.<sup>6</sup>

Women-men pairings are also reduced significantly in Acts, compared with the aforementioned examples listed above in the Gospel of Luke. Where pairs do occur, their inequality is often made apparent. For instance, Acts 17:16–34 mentions Dionysius the Areopagite, whose title reflects that he was likely a member of the court of the Areopagus, but his wife, Damaris, is not mentioned with any honorific titles. Ananias and Sapphira are mentioned together, but they serve as negative examples to highlight Barnabas' generosity (Acts 5:1–11).<sup>7</sup> Priscilla and Aquilla could be an exception to the rule, in that she is named before her husband, but they receive minimal characterization (Acts 18:1–3). In those instances where extended characterization does occur, male figures universally receive more attention, such as

to Luke (eds., Amy-Jill Levine with Marianne Blickenstaff; New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002),.

<sup>5</sup> Major texts in Acts that feature women: Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11); widows (Acts 6:1–6); Tabitha (Acts 9:36–43); Mary and Rhoda (Acts 12:1–17); Lydia and the slave girl (Acts 16:11–15, 40; 16–24); Priscilla (18:1–4, 18–28); and Philip's prophesying daughters (Acts 21:9). For a positive commentary on these characters aimed at edifying readers and valuing the women represented as sources of power and inspiration for believers, see Rosemary M. Dowsett, "Acts of the Apostles," Pages 606–27 in *The IVP Women's Bible Commentary* (eds. Catherine Clark Kroeger and Mary J. Evans; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Gail R. O'Day, "Acts," Pages 394–402 in *Women's Bible Commentary*, 396; As Dowsett argues that judging Acts too harshly for its alleged marginalization of women would miss the point that the central concern of the text is "to establish the identity and credentials of the Lord Jesus Christ and the reliability of the apostolic teaching about him," and not as an apology for the role of women in the early church." Dowsett, "Acts of the Apostles," 607.

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton interprets the death of Sapphira as the "tragedy of the unfortunate wife who obeyed her husband." Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman's Bible: A Classic Feminist Perspective* (Reprint of the original published in two volumes by the European Publishing Company, New York, in 1895 and 1898; New York: Dover, 2002), 149; cf. Dowsett, "Acts of the Apostles," 611, who takes a more sympathetic perspective.

the stories of Felix and his wife Drusilla, and Agrippa and his wife Bernice (Acts 24:24; 25:13, 23; 26:30).<sup>8</sup>

There is a glimmer of hope, however, for the reversal of women's social status in Acts in the episode that immediately follows the election of the twelfth (male) apostle. As followers of Jesus gather together to pray in Jerusalem during Pentecost, the Holy Spirit descends indiscriminately on the believers present. Peter stands up as a leader among the men and women gathered to announce that an ancient oracle of the prophet Joel was being fulfilled in their presence.

In the last days it will be, God declares,  
that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh,  
and your sons *and your daughters* shall prophesy,  
and your young men shall see visions,  
and your old men shall dream dreams.  
Even upon my slaves, *both men and women*,  
in those days I will pour out my Spirit;  
and they shall prophesy

(Acts 2:17–18).

The ancient oracle announces the good news that the Spirit will be poured out “upon all flesh,” and that not only men, but also “sons and daughters” and even slaves, both “men and women,” will receive the Spirit upon them and prophesy. Despite the promising forecast of what life is going to be like in the “last days,” what follows in Acts fails to maintain the gender inclusiveness promised in the ancient oracle. After all, Peter stands before those gathered and directs his speech exclusively to the men assembled, addressing them as “Men, Israelites” (Acts 2:22) and “Men, brothers” (Acts 2:29, 37).<sup>9</sup> Peter's speech further characterizes the savior as a powerful “man.”

Jesus of Nazareth, *a man* attested to you by God with deeds of power, wonders, and signs that God did through him among you, as you yourselves know – *this man*, handed by the hands of those outside the law. But God raised him up, having freed him from death, because it was impossible for him to be held in its power

(Acts 2:22–23a).

<sup>8</sup> Martin suggests that one of the purposes of such pairings is an attempt to construct a credible testimony according to Jewish tradition, which entailed two or more witnesses, citing the following texts as support: Deuteronomy 19:15; Matthew 18:16; 2 Corinthians 13:1; 1 Timothy 5:19; Hebrews 10:28; 1 John 5:6–8. Martin, “The Acts of the Apostles,” 779.

<sup>9</sup> See also Acts 3:12; Acts 3:17. Paul is depicted using a similar address, see Acts 13:16, 26; 15:36; 17:22; 22:1.



If the ancient Joelic prophecy engenders any hope of transformed social relations organized around a new social order and a more progressive gender ideology, such possibilities disappear by the end of Peter's speech. The promise of female prophecy stands in sharp relief to the absence of material that dictates prophetic activity among anyone but *free men* throughout Acts. In the narrative that follows men and women, sons and daughters, and slave and free do not exhibit the same empowerment that was originally promised in the oracle of old.

There are, however, two instances of women prophets in Acts that beg our attention here. The first exception is a slave girl in Philippi who is exploited by her owners for her ability to prophesy the future.<sup>10</sup> Upon Paul's encounter with such a prophetess, Paul silences her on the spot (Acts 16:16–18).<sup>11</sup> As Price argues concerning the slave girl's possession, "she is not quite a demoniac. She is a prophetess of sorts, an oracle like unto the Delphic oracle, in other words, a false prophetess, the only kind of prophetess there can ever really be for Luke..."<sup>12</sup> The second exception is a passing reference to Philip's four prophesying daughters. Unfortunately, however, their names are not mentioned, nor is the substance of their prophecy (Acts 21:8–9). While both of these passages could have illustrated Peter's announced fulfillment of the Joelic promise, the reader is left with zero examples of women actually prophesying. Rather, men are exclusively attributed with prophetic speeches, such as the prophets at Tyre (21:4), and Agabus, whose prophecies are placed in Philip's own home (Acts 11:27–30; 21:10–11). As Martin astutely asks, "why would Luke sandwich a tradition about four women

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion on the slave girl as "quadruply marginalized according to the patriarchal and androcentric societal norms of the times" due to her gender, slave status, spirit possession, and economic exploitation see Mary Ann Getty-Sullivan, *Women in the New Testament* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2001), 248–49; cf. Mark 1:24. Concerning Lydia's lack of a proper name, possible status as another slave in the text, whether freed or active slave, see Robert M. Price, *The Widow Traditions in Luke-Acts: A Feminist-Critical Scrutiny* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 229. On reading Lydia as a symbol of women's power, see Luise Schotroff, *Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* (trans. Annemarie S. Kidder; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 132.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion on the slave girl in both socio-historical and feminist liberationist perspectives, see Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995), 151–93.

<sup>12</sup> This argument is based on a distinction in Luke-Acts between being possessed with a "*pneuma Pythona*" and a "*pneuma daimon/akatharton/poneron*." Furthermore, Price notes that Paul's "annoyance" is deeply unsatisfactory as a way of telling the story. Alternatively, he suggests, "it is Luke who in his patriarchalist ecclesiastical context feels annoyance at the prospect of a woman preaching or prophesying. My guess is that the text before him depicted the Pythoness as a Philippian convert having joined Paul in his evangelistic activity there – and that her name was Lydia." Robert M. Price, *The Widow Traditions*, 229.

prophets between two traditions that narrate 'male' prophetic activity and utterances while rendering the women prophets both silent and completely inactive as prophets?"<sup>13</sup> Though the reference to Philip's prophetic daughters is regularly seen in traditional scholarship to counter the claim that Acts excludes women from the prophetic office, they are actually illustrative of the androcentric character of the narrative. Therefore, in Acts' narrative representation of the early church, the possibility of women's prophetic ministry is nodded at, though repressed, if not completely snubbed.<sup>14</sup>

One feels compelled here to ask, did the author know more about women traditions and the role of women in the early church than he narrates in his history?<sup>15</sup> Does Acts represent another instance of patriarchal storytelling that sees history as the series of events that happen as a result of the actions of a few male delegates? After all, Acts seems to have access to at least some collection of Pauline epistles, which contain an ample number of references to women involved in prophetic activity (1 Corinthians 11:2–16) and women's participation in significant leadership roles (Romans 16:1–15; Philippians 4:2–3; Galatians 3:28; Philemon 2).<sup>16</sup> The naming of Priscilla before her husband, Aquila, has been referred to as support for the possibility of women rising to places of prominence in Acts, but, as Jacob Jervell argues, Priscilla's prominence seems to be reduced in Acts compared to how she is presented in Romans 16:3 and 1 Corinthians 16:19, as a fellow worker with Paul.<sup>17</sup>

On the one hand, Acts seems adamant that women were present in the early stages of the church and attributes to them full membership.<sup>18</sup> After all, women were present when the Holy Spirit descended on believers on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4). Women are mentioned explicitly in the summary passage of the church's growth (5:14; 8:12; 17:4, 12). Women are subjected to the early persecution campaign of Saul, who went from synagogue

<sup>13</sup> Martin, "The Acts of the Apostles," 787.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983); Rosemary Radford Ruether, ed., *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974).

<sup>16</sup> Martin discusses the various approaches by feminist biblical interpreters and theologians, who adopt a "hermeneutic of suspicion" in weighing the adequacy of Luke's portrayal of women and their role in the life of the early church. This is driven by resistance to the inherited tradition, arguing, "In short, we should never conclude that Christian Testament traditions about women represent comprehensive and sufficient data about the role of women in the Christian communities," Martin, "The Acts of the Apostles," 773; see also 772–76.

<sup>17</sup> Jacob Jervell, *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1984), 152–53.

<sup>18</sup> Dowsett, "Acts of the Apostles," in *The IVP Women's Bible Commentary*, 607.

to synagogue seeking out believers, both “men and women,” to bring them bound to Jerusalem (9:2).<sup>19</sup> There are even instances where women are seemingly valued positively. For example, Tabitha is a named “disciple” commended for her service among widows (Acts 9:36); Lydia is depicted as a householder (Acts 16:14–15); and an unspecified number of anonymous “Greek” women are described as holding “respectable” status (17:12).<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, we are left with a male-dominated narrative that attributes zero speeches, few names, and limited roles to women. In light of these observations, one puzzles over those who still insist on asserting that Act’s view of women is “remarkable” and ranks among the “more progressive” for the author’s day.<sup>21</sup> Attempts at assessing whether the perspective in Acts really was “more progressive” than its contemporaries are fraught with challenges in how women’s status is constructed in the author’s day. Inevitably such attempts have to make arbitrary decisions about what materials to privilege, and whether the purpose is to enhance or degrade the credibility of Acts’ perspective on gender. Therefore, an alternative approach will be emphasized in the following section by highlighting those studies on ancient masculinity, which promise to provide a more informative approach to the representation of women and gender in Acts.

### Acts and Greco-Roman Masculinity

In an often cited and generally well-regarded series of essays, Mary D’Angelo explores the relationship between the construction of masculinity in Luke-Acts and its connection to the representation of masculinity in antiquity.

<sup>19</sup> O’Day, “Acts,” 396–97.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of Lydia as a model convert in Acts, who is esteemed in the text as a “worshiper of God” and one who “listened” to Paul, as well as provided generous hospitality and played a primary role in the conversion of her entire household, see Getty-Sullivan, *Women in the New Testament*, 247–49; cf. Acts 16:25–34 for the way this contrasts with the characterization of the jailer at Philippi. See also Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles*, 71–149. For a discussion on the conversion of Lydia’s “house,” see Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles*, 109–14. For a discussion of the relationship between the household conversions of Lydia, the Roman jailer, and Crispus, see David Lertis Matson, *Household Conversion Narratives in Acts: Pattern and Interpretation* (JSNTSup 123; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 135–69.

<sup>21</sup> Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary, Vol. 1: Introduction and 1:1–4:30* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 598–99. Keener acknowledges that women are given less attention in Acts than the Gospel of Luke, and, troubled by this fact, suggests that it could be the result of a variety of factors. He suggests it may be due to the nature of ancient historiography, the decision to choose his “cultural battles” so as to not detract from the ethnic and geographical universalism, the androcentric nature of his source material, or the impact of social realities in his day, or sensitivity to more conservative readers.

What is especially pertinent about D'Angelo's study, for the sake of this project, is the reference to material specific to the reign of Trajan. In fact, D'Angelo is the only one who situates Acts in this visual milieu in any consequential manner. D'Angelo argues that images of women are more instructive about masculinity in Acts than the actual lives of women in the early church.<sup>22</sup> D'Angelo points out that the term "man" (*aner*) appears exponentially more times in Luke-Acts than all other New Testament texts, signaling the special interest the text has with masculinity. D'Angelo further argues that the male-female gender pairings in both the Gospel of Luke and Acts, such as the "*merismoï*" (references to "men and women") and the inclusion of marital couples, relates to the "heightened prestige" and "public function" of marriage during the reign of Trajan. D'Angelo claims that in Trajan's own propaganda he adopted Augustan "family values." Thus, the marital pairings in Acts of Drusilla and Bernice, Felix and Arippa, and others reflected the way imperial women accompanied Trajan on campaigns (Acts 24:24; 25:13, 23).<sup>23</sup> D'Angelo stresses that the representation of women was restrained at this time by a prevalent interest in asserting that the stability of the public and political world controlled by men was ensured by the proper control of the household in which women resided. As D'Angelo argues, "The sexual politics of Luke-Acts is essential to this apologetic on both theological and political levels. This text displays the rightness of the Christians' gender arrangements as an argument for moral and religious probity. In so doing, it responds to the reassertion of the Augustan family-values campaign in the very late first and early second century, that is, during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian."<sup>24</sup>

Though I have greatly benefitted from D'Angelo's essays on this topic, there are several challenges in staking such claims. While the pairing of men and women may be an emphasis in the Gospel of Luke, their frequency diminishes dramatically in Acts. Although D'Angelo acknowledges that the

<sup>22</sup> D'Angelo, "The ANHP Question in Luke-Acts," 44-69; Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View," *JBL* 109 (1990): 441-61.

<sup>23</sup> D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts," 450. Regarding the depiction of Trajan's family on coins, especially Plotina and Marciana, see Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum: Volume III Nerva to Hadrian* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1976), cvii.

<sup>24</sup> D'Angelo, "The ANHP Question in Luke-Acts," 47, see also 64-65; D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View," *JBL* 109 (1990): 450; Peter Brown, "Late Antiquity." Pages 237-311 *A History of Private Life. I. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (ed. Paul Veyne; Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987); Robert Andrew Clindinning Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1990), 39, 43, plates 10 and 12; Hildegard Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans: Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae in Principat* (Berlin: W. deGruyter, 1978), pp. 100-15, and 255-61 and plates 1-5.

concentration of gendered pairings differs significantly between the Gospel of Luke and Acts, she maintains that it is nonetheless a shared characteristic. From my perspective, D'Angelo does not fully appreciate how this marks a substantial difference that distinguishes the two texts from each other, for female–male pairings appear too infrequently and sporadically to be counted as an emphasis in Acts. Unfortunately then, this problematizes the very basis upon which D'Angelo claims a Trajanic dating for Acts. Another problem with D'Angelo's position in these articles is that the heightened interest in men–women pairings draws on the research of Peter Brown, who tracks changes in the representational tendencies of imperial women in the Antonine period (138–193 CE), which is a significantly later period than the years D'Angelo applies the research to, and reflects the dynastic concerns of this later period that do not apply to the reign of Trajan (nor Hadrian).<sup>25</sup> So, it is awfully challenging to continue to maintain the position that Acts' representational interest in women is to show that “the Way” seeks to coincide with the revival of Augustan “family values” in Trajanic propaganda, which are, after all, misplaced gender ideologies that better fit in the Antonine period, at least as D'Angelo constructs them.

Much more recently, Colleen Conway's book *Behold the Man: Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity* interprets how Luke–Acts' representation of gender relates to Greco-Roman constructions of masculinity. Conway points out that the number of times the term “man” (*aner*) appears in Acts greatly outnumbers the classic study of D'Angelo, and occurs 100 times throughout the text. According to Conway, Acts is concerned with showing how all of the leaders of the early church are men who through (1) their literate and educated status, (2) their association with imperial government structures, and (3) connection to temple and cult practice all attain the highest ideals of manliness in the Roman Empire. The following quote is representative of Conway's study:

<sup>25</sup> D'Angelo “Women in the Gospel of Matthew and Luke–Acts,” 194 endnote 62. D'Angelo refers back to this briefly in *JBL*, as the premise upon which she claims Trajanic dating there too. Only in the essay “Women in the Gospel of Matthew and Luke–Acts” does D'Angelo explain where this claim stems from, and even then, it is just in the essay's endnotes. Footnote 62 on page 194 reads, “J. V. P. D. Balsdon (Roman Women, Their History and Habits [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1983; first published New York: John C. Day, 1962] 63) regards this [public function of the imperial women seems to have increased – from pg. 188] as a significant change over earlier imperial practice. He discusses it under ‘female emancipation.’ But it actually manifests the new importance of marriage described by Peter Brown (‘Late Antiquity: The ‘Wellborn’ Few,’ in *A History of Private Life*, volume I, *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. Paul Veyne [Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987] 247–48).”

With Luke-Acts, we enter a narrative world that is completely at home within the masculine power structures of the Roman Empire. Almost anywhere we turn in this world, we find those elements that were necessary for the construction of the ideal man in the Roman world. The heroes that we encounter in this world – Jesus, Stephen, Peter, Paul – are portrayed as educated, articulate, reasonable, self-controlled, pious men, fully capable of holding their own in the upper echelons of the masculine world of the Roman Empire.<sup>26</sup>

Though Conway's characterization of Greco-Roman masculinity would have been enhanced by taking into consideration visual representations, as well as a more nuanced approach to highlight the variety of ways masculine ideals evolved across time and space, there is much in this perspective to commend given what we have seen in previous chapters on Paul as a provincial patron who embodies the highest ideals found in state and provincial representations from the period. For these reasons and more, we can appreciate Conway's claim that Acts is concerned with asserting how well its chief protagonists embody broader cultural codes of decorum, as well as a concern with how Jesus can enable believers to achieve true masculinity.<sup>27</sup>

Brittany Wilson's very recent book *Unmanly Men: Refigurations of Masculinity in Luke-Acts* sets out to interpret the representation of men in Luke-Acts for how they "measure up" to masculine norms in the Greco-Roman world.<sup>28</sup> Though this approach is similar to that of Conway's, in many ways, Wilson extends and greatly nuances the argument in two primary ways that concern this chapter. First, Wilson expands Conway's taxonomy of Greco-Roman masculinities by paying particular attention to how masculinities varied based on religion, class, chronology, and geography. As Wilson puts it, "people may have held different understandings of masculinity, and even among elite males, there is not always a univocal view. Many voices are lost to us on the assumption that there is a monolithic understanding of ancient masculinity is just that: an assumption and an illusory one at that."<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the greatest value of Wilson's work is how it attempts "to hold in balance" both "recurrent patterns" and "particular manifestations" of Greco-Roman masculinity.<sup>30</sup> Second, Wilson's study expands Conway's

<sup>26</sup> Colleen M. Conway, *Behold the Man: Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 127.

<sup>27</sup> Conway, *Behold the Man*, 133.

<sup>28</sup> Brittany E. Wilson, *Unmanly Men: Refigurations of Masculinity in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford, 2015), 3.

<sup>29</sup> Wilson, *Unmanly Men*, 25.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 29. Wilson summarizes the core of masculine norms by stating, "(1) men had to be elite and avoid acting like women and other 'nonmen' in order to be manly, (2) a man's

analysis from a single chapter on Luke-Acts to four chapters that include an analysis of both minor characters (Zechariah in Luke 1; and The Ethiopian Eunuch in Acts 8) and major characters (Jesus in Luke 22–23; and Paul in Acts 9), respectively.

Lying at the heart of Wilson's interpretation of Acts is the story of Paul's blindness in Acts 9 as representing a surprisingly "unmanly" portrait, in that it doesn't "measure up" to ideals of manliness in the Greco-Roman world, which emphasized the control of the body as an ideal for "manly men." According to Wilson, this is true for all of the male characters in Acts, they appear particularly "unmanly," in order to emphasize the power of God in the unfolding story.<sup>31</sup> While there are a variety of ways such claims could be developed in ways that would make a significant contribution to the topic of gender in Acts, such as the queering of Paul's identity in Acts and the monopolization of masculine power by God the Father, there are a variety of ways Wilson's interpretation runs too narrow. For instance, Wilson claims that the "unmanly" portrait of Paul is not particular to Acts 9, but runs throughout Acts in detailing Paul's lack of bodily control in scenes of escape, scourging, and imprisonment. In order to maintain this novel position, Wilson has to completely ignore those scenes that are pretty key to Paul's characterization in Acts, including the seven miracle stories attributed to Paul in Acts, which includes the story of Paul being completely unharmed when bit by a viper (Acts 28:1–6; cf. 13:4–12; 14:8–10; 16:16–18; 19:13–20; 28:1–6; 28:7–8). All of these instances in one way or another show how Paul is in the very business of empowering bodily control, either for himself or others. Additional examples could include the bodily control his travel companions acquire by their proximity to Paul during their sea voyage (Acts 27:31).<sup>32</sup> Therefore, it is not at all clear that Paul's blindness in Acts 9 is a good representative text for Wilson to make claims about how Acts relates to "recurrent patterns" Greco-Roman masculinities. Furthermore, it is simply not true that a lack of bodily control is universally regarded as emasculating. The Column of Trajan, for example, seems to support Wilson's taxonomy of ancient masculinity in that the emperor and the Roman legionaries are strategically depicted as in control of their bodies and rather invincible from harm. If one looks close enough, however, in scene XL there is a single image of a legionary facing an injury, which indicates that there were exceptions to the rule, or that other representational interests could take precedence even

manliness or lack thereof manifested itself in his body, and (3) power and self-control were essential components of being manly," 75.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson, *Unmanly Men*, 75.

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of all of these scenes, see [Chapter 3](#) in this book.



on a state-sponsored monument that equates Roman victory with phallic power. Therefore, I will now turn to analyze the representation of women and men on the Column of Trajan with the hope of bringing new perspectives to bear on this complex topic of gender representation in Acts.

### The Column of Trajan and Roman Imperial Masculinity

That the Column of Trajan is interested in the representation of women does not make it distinct among Roman imperial monuments. Images of women appear at earlier stages of imperial art, such as found on the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus, as well as at later stages, such as found on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. In the vast majority of cases, however, women are depicted in a predictable, stereotyped fashion, namely, as pacified and subdued allegorical images representing conquered provinces. What makes the Column of Trajan distinct, however, is the number of women represented, the differentiated categories of women depicted, and the ethnographic details used in the representation of women in the winding sculptural frieze. Therefore, the Column here again represents an exceptional work of Roman art that has a lot to show us concerning the place of women and gender in a male-dominated extended narrative and the function these images serve in the overall purpose of the narrative.

Roman art historian, Natalie Kampen, paved the way in providing a sustained analysis of gender representation on the Column.<sup>33</sup> Though Kampen's work on the topic focuses on parent-child images for what they say about the value of "family fictions" in Roman art, the argument that follows relates closely with the taxonomy she proposes. Three categories of women appear on the Column, appearing eight times over the course of a total of 155 scenes.<sup>34</sup> The first category includes those scenes where Dacian women

<sup>33</sup> From a gender-critical perspective, Kampen argues, "The work of Roman art as socially embedded and ideologically motivated prepares the ground for gender analysis. I use this foundation to explore gender on Trajan's Column, combining it with feminist assumptions about the problematic nature of 'manhood,' which is always being made, remade, protected, and argued about and is always entangled with political structure, ideology, and representation. Always treated in relation to other social categories, such as age, rank, or ethnicity, and to what it is not, womanhood, *manliness* is a constant term in debates about power – who can have it and how it can be used." Natalie Kampen, "Looking at Gender: The Column of Trajan and Roman Historical Relief." Pages 46–73 in *Feminisms in the Academy* (eds. Domna C. Stanton and Abigail J. Stewart; Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 52.

<sup>34</sup> This observation is dependent on Kampen's taxonomy of three types of families on the Column, see Natalie Boymel Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (New York: Cambridge, 2009), 45.

appear involuntarily displaced from their homes, often with children, and always on the move, seeking refuge from the violence that ensues between their male kinfolk, the Dacian warriors, and their conflict with the invading Romans. Dacian women are presented as vulnerably exposed and in need of rescuing, more often than not pictured amid inhospitable terrain that signals their dislocation.

The very first scene depicting women takes place soon after the first battle where Roman cavalry charges at the Dacian warriors successfully stomping them down to the ground. The enemy is vanquished under foot and spear while auxiliaries hold up severed heads relishing in the enemy's defeat. Those few Dacians who survive are left to pick up the corpses of their fallen comrades or limp away with serious injuries (scenes xxiv–xxv). There is no time to rest and recover since all are required to flee for their lives because the Roman military machine continues to move forward, sweeping across their land, setting fire to their villages, and further occupying their homeland. Among those scenes that detail the aftermath of the battle, scene xxx stands out for its inclusion of six Dacian women wearing headscarves that are tied at the back in tight buns, proceeding with their children toward a Roman rescue boat that holds the promise of delivering them from the violence (see [Figure 17](#)). Trajan is given pride of place to ensure their safety as the one who ushers the vulnerable women out of harm's way. He stands in a position that expresses concern, but maintains a respectable distance while ushering them to the boat with a caring gesture. While in reality such conquered women made up a significant ratio of the Roman slave economy, their safety is insinuated here as the protective nature of the state is articulated in the body of its chief representative. This scene represents the innovative contribution the Column makes to the representation of provincial women, who are in most other instances depicted in stereotypical fashion as emblematic allegories of pacified or defeated foes.

As the first scene that depicts women on the Column, it seems appropriate to further substantiate this interpretation, which is further supported by the contrast set up in the scene that immediately follows. Scene xxxi details Dacian men drowning from their own unsuccessful water crossing, seen grasping for air and struggling not to drown (scene xxxi). As discussed in [Chapters 1](#) and [3](#), one of the principal methods by which the Column constructs *Romanitas* over and against the barbarian Dacians is by highlighting the control Roman men maintain over waterways and crossings, detailed in the attention given to constructed bridges, forded rivers, and nautical travel. Thus, Trajan guarantees the women's safety by providing them with a Roman boat for transportation so they are not subjected to the same fate as



17. Scene xxx: Trajan ushers a group of Dacian women toward a boat.

their warring kinfolk. The appearance of women in this first scene initiates a theme that will appear time and again on the Column that Roman power over foreign lands and peoples is legitimized by their exemplary actions and displays of their manly virtues. So, a primary way women function on the Column is to clarify and enhance the protectiveness men exhibit in keeping the vulnerable women safe from harm's way and ensuring children are

able to stay with their mothers.<sup>35</sup> As Kampen further argues concerning the meaning of this scene,

The lesson for the viewer in this first appearance of women and children on the column is that the emperor and the Roman soldiers determine their fate. The fleeing Dacian men are physically separated from the women both by the landscape and by the shield and body of the Roman soldier who directs traffic... Neither emperor nor soldiers actually touch the women; the emperor's gesture, his hand out toward the isolated woman, converses rather than pushes. Indeed, nowhere on the entire column do Roman soldiers touch women or children. So viewers are, from the beginning, encouraged to think that women and children, even enemies, receive gentle treatment and, rather than being raped, beaten, tortured, or killed, they are simply being asked to leave the area. That they may well be on their way to slavery or death is nowhere indicated. What is more important is that the Romans stand in as husbands and fathers, since the composition separates the women here from their own men. The enemy men cannot protect their women and children; only the Romans can do that.<sup>36</sup>

The second time Dacian women appear on the Column they are represented with great detail and variety, as women of all ages descend from a hill representing rough, uninhabitable wilderness, where they were in hiding like animals, and enter into "civilized" space that is marked by the new stone building being constructed by Roman legionaries. Trajan is seen extending his hand toward the surrendering Dacian noblemen signaling the *clementia* (mercy, pardon) of the emperor, and the incorporative policies of his *imperium* (empire). Women then are pictured in order to enhance the depiction of the benefits that come from such a protective, merciful state that is led by such a caring man as Trajan (scene XXXIX; see [Figure 18](#)).<sup>37</sup>

In scenes LXXV–LXXVI, women appear at the very end of the First Dacian War crawling out of hiding in an uninhabitable mountainous terrain, possibly even a cave (see [Figure 19](#)). Their families accompany the women carrying small children. The situation is hopeful similar to the two scenes discussed above in that they are clearly refugees who have been involuntarily displaced and subjected to various vulnerabilities due to the effects of the war, but now free to move toward Roman troops, which represent civilizing and humane interests. The women's crude living conditions are highlighted to illustrate the absence of *securitas* (security, protection) that faces those outside of the *imperium Romanum*, and, implicitly, the benefits that come to

<sup>35</sup> For Kampen's own description of this scene, see *Family Fictions in Roman Art*, 47.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 49–50.



18. Scene XXXIX: Women descend from a mountain with their families.

those who surrender to its benevolent and civilizing *imperium*. In the meantime, Roman troops appear dismantling stonewalls and erasing any notion that Rome's empire can be contained within borders and boundary markers. The message is that under the leadership of Trajan, the world is becoming unified amid its diversity of landscapes and people groups.<sup>38</sup> As Kampen argues, "the Dacian women, who are liminal figures, markers of the edge of civilization as they flee or go into exile, nonetheless also serve as signifiers for community and family on the Column. They clarify the implications of Roman conquest for a whole population because their appearance with children comes to mean 'everyone,' symbols of the community's future and its fate. Paradoxically, they signify 'entirety' by virtue of their rarity."<sup>39</sup>

All scenes representing the first category of women on the column use women to illustrate the protective nature of the state, which is conflated with male power, given that the virtue is epitomized in the depiction of its chief leader, Trajan. The once vulnerable, endangered, and displaced women find refuge as Rome steadily takes more and more control over Dacian territory. Women's portraits provide the very occasion for the representation of Roman virtues, especially *securitas*, articulated in exclusively masculine forms. Throughout the winding narrative, the Column strategically separates

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>39</sup> Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 60; see also 65.





19. Scene LXXVI: Women come out of uncivilized terrain and move toward mass surrender.

women and children from the violence and shows that it is only by Roman protection that families are even allowed to stay together. The promise the Column sets up for these women is that in due time the Roman Empire will provide a new home for them and more civilized conditions for their families to live – marked not by forests, mountains, and threatening water ways, but by stone buildings, arches, and amphitheaters.<sup>40</sup>

The second category of women that appear on the Column contrast sharply from the first type discussed above by the way they relate to Trajan and his “civilizing mission” to Dacia. The second type appears only after the First Dacian War is complete and the emperor and troops retreat from the occupied territory. At the start of the Second Dacian War, just past the half-way point on the spiraling frieze, provincial women appear living in cities that have already been incorporated into the Roman Empire, and have already experienced the peace, prosperity, and urbanization that living in the provinces allegedly promises. Thus, these images all include civilized cities distinguished by their developed architectural forms, as well as the higher-end clothing fashioned by the men and women.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 45–46.

Trajan and his troops begin their second conquest by departing from a coastal town in Italy, in order to travel back to Dacia. Along their way, however, they experience a stormy sea crossing, but employ their *Romanitas* to gain power over the sea, arriving safely at their destination – a provincial port city. Provincial women are present to welcome the emperor and his traveling army. The women join their children, along with the rest of the population, to participate in the sacrifice of a bull in honor of Trajan and the entire Roman military operation he represents. Arches and stone walls provide the backdrop as men, women, and children all pay proper tribute to their emperor (scenes LXXIX–LXXX).

Provincial women and their children appear for a second time on the frieze in scene LXXXI–LXXXVI as Trajan visits another provincial city, which may reflect an administrative center because of the distinctly Roman quality of the architecture.<sup>42</sup> Here the entire population is depicted passing through arches in procession to a sacrifice. The architectural structures are elaborately detailed in the background signaling the civilization that comes from being in the empire. Trajan pours the libation on an altar and attendants are pictured sacrificing a bull. Women and children are seen “properly placed” with all of the safety and security that Rome provides. The fact that this scene is so similar to the one mentioned above may evidence that an idealized stereotype is being employed here of what Romans think provincial life should consist of – an orderly population that is able to effectively manage the diversity of its constituents and always ready to sacrifice on behalf of the emperor.

The third category of women represented on the Column appear in scene XC–XCI soon after in what appears to be another civilized provincial city, but now it is *Dacian* women who appear, and they are depicted participating in a similar sacrifice scene with their children surrounded by architectural forms associated with the provincial cities mentioned above (see [Figure 20](#)). Women are identifiable as Dacians by their usual headwear, yet the Dacian men wear the type of clothing found in the provinces. The scene seems to represent the aftermath of Roman imperialism and the civilizing effect it had in bringing stability, order, proper gender placement, and architectural development to Dacian territory. Thus, these women are those who experience the benefits of being under a benevolent emperor and as a part of a protective state. One is free to imagine this group of women representing those who were “protected” by Trajan and ushered to the boat after the first battle scene discussed above. These women can guarantee that they will

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 52–53.





20. Scene xci: Civilized Dacian women stand intermingled with men in togas and children.

never again have to suffer involuntary displacement similar to when their kinfolk resisted Roman advances in their homeland. Meanwhile, Trajan pours a libation on an altar and all threat of conflict is long gone. Women appear less “civilized” in this scene compared to the second type described above. This is marked by their traditional headdress, juxtaposed with bearded men wearing trousers.<sup>43</sup>

Kampen rightly observes that the variety of women (as well as their families) depicted on the Column “operate on a continuum from those most [to those least] like Romans.”<sup>44</sup> The first category of women discussed above represent the non-Roman end of this continuum, while the second category of women discussed above represent the Roman end of this continuum. The third category places the “civilized” Dacian women somewhere between these two poles in so far as the scenes hybridizes imperial and local forms. Those women in the first type are depicted as worthy of rescue and fit to become the second type. Those women in the second type are depicted as benefitting from their association with Rome. And those women in the third type are depicted enjoying everything that provincials enjoy from their association with Rome and better off for having not “missed the boat.”

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

Trajan relates to each of these categories differently. Thus, the variety of types of women represented on the Column serve to create various contrasts that elucidate Roman imperialism as a benevolent undertaking that brings civilization, security, and a sort of modernization to Dacia.

There is one additional scene that includes women who do not fit neatly into any of the aforementioned categories. In scenes XLIII–XLIV, five Dacian women are identifiable by their usual head covering. These Dacian women are depicted torturing bound prisoners with firebrands (see [Figure 21](#)). That these prisoners are Dacians is supported by the fact that Roman soldiers are nearly invincible on the Column and never depicted as bound or tortured.<sup>45</sup> The purpose of the scene is to highlight internal division among the Dacians and represent the response of women toward their male kinfolk for jeopardizing the safety and security of their women and children, not to mention their livestock, villages, and gold. Thus, they are joining the Romans in the fight against those opposed to Rome's civilizing mission in their land. This interpretation is supported by the fact that it creates stark contrasts with the two scenes it is sandwiched between that clearly aim to venerate Trajan's virtues. To the left Trajan is depicted as generously distributing largess to auxiliaries. To the right Trajan is granting forgiveness to Dacians prostrating themselves in petition for his mercy.<sup>46</sup>

Women play a surprisingly prominent role on the Column as they are depicted in several scenes and at key junctures of the spiraling narrative. All of the images of women on the Column, however, serve the purpose of highlighting the admirable virtues of the state epitomized in male bodies, especially that of the commander-in-chief, Trajan.<sup>47</sup> As Kampen argues, "Like the barbarians, the female figures do things that the Roman men cannot or would not do, and so they provide the edges against which Roman manliness can be defined."<sup>48</sup> Like other media from the day, images of women are

<sup>45</sup> Regarding the identity of those tortured, Kampen argues, "The kind of unheroic and 'déclassé' nakedness evidence of pain would immediately have reminded most Romans of the hundreds of images of barbarian prisoners on state monuments, coins, and statues they saw daily both in Roman and in the provinces. By sheer repetition these figures denied any possibility of Roman defeat; they insisted on inevitable and eternal Roman victory. The sight of a naked, bound, tortured Roman legionary was simply out of the question," Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 54.

<sup>46</sup> Regarding the uniqueness of this scene from the perspective of art history, see Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 50–51.

<sup>47</sup> Kampen suggests that the attention given to the representation of women, as well as their children, in these scenes contributes to the veracity of the Column as an important part of its realist visual mode discussed at length in [Chapter 1](#). Thus, the inclusion of women in the spiraling frieze serves to persuade its viewers that what they are looking at is the full story and true. See Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art*, 40.

<sup>48</sup> Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 64.



21. Scene XLIV: Dacian women torture prisoners.

used to clarify and enhance male virtue, as a part of a binary system in which masculinity exists in relation to what it is not.<sup>49</sup> On the Column, women help clarify Trajan's image as a man and help articulate his imperial virtues.

That the Column is interested in circulating ideas about ideal manliness is rather self-evident given that the Column as a whole is a rather conspicuous and pronounced 100-foot phallic symbol standing erect in the middle of Rome and uses images of men exclusively to articulate notions of Roman power and victory. In general, Roman historical reliefs are dominated by images of men, which visually constructed and publicly disseminated the notion that the world of public power belonged to men.

The Column's ideal standard of masculinity is epitomized in images of Trajan. As Kampen argues, "His manliness is inextricably interwoven with his Romanness and his imperial rank, all three of which become descriptors for his ideal status and for his right to lead. In a sense he guarantees victory because he embodies Roman virtue as well as Roman power."<sup>50</sup> According to Kampen's view, the Column asserts that in order to achieve victory, men must continue to struggle against adversity, always remaining constant and

<sup>49</sup> Natalie Boymel Kampen, "What is a Man?" Pages 3–15 in *What is a Man? Changing Images of Masculinity in Late Antique Art* (eds. Natalie Boymel Kampen, Elizabeth Marlowe, and Rebecca M. Molhol; Portland, OR: Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery, 2002), 5.

<sup>50</sup> Kampen, "Looking at Gender," 57.

self-controlled, demonstrating courage, bravery, determination, and other traditional codes of decorum.<sup>51</sup> Military images, such as the Column, proposed that ideals of manliness should provide the aspiration for Roman and barbarians alike, rich and poor, young and old. Women play an important role in the maintenance of this system, even if their images maintain a certain ambiguous relation to masculine ideals. Women are certainly subordinated in the narrative as they are relegated to certain boundary-making roles so they can serve in valuing men and masculinity.<sup>52</sup>

All of these images of women that appear on the Column ultimately serve to highlight imperial virtue and to construct Trajan as *the man*, a model of masculinity, and the benevolent father of all. The strategic placement of women served as a powerful tool in the construction of such images and a critical ingredient in clarifying and enhancing the qualifications of men in leadership. Thus, lying at the heart of imperial concepts of power and politics is this distinct notion of masculinity. The following section seeks to explain what purpose the representation of gender served in the political interests of Acts.

### Conclusion: Engendering Empire

Natalie Kampen argues that public images of rulers and elite men were a common way ideals of manliness were consistently produced and widely circulated.<sup>53</sup> Such men served as models, in both body and character, and their images projected standards of manly virtue and strength. Thus, representations of manliness served as a vehicle for legitimacy of authority and the right to lead. Male leaders in the Roman Empire had a special interest in connecting their own images with these visual standards and ideals of manliness.<sup>54</sup>

In Acts the representation of women is critical, albeit severely limited, in order to construct a picture of the early church that conforms to contemporary standards of representation in the Roman Empire. When seen in the light of the images discussed above, topped with those more recent studies on masculinity in Acts, we are in a good place to help identify a number of blind spots that elucidate what we are not seeing with more traditional methodologies. In what follows, I would like to point out five ways in which

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Kampen, "What is a Man?" 7.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

Column of Trajan can help contextualize various aspects pertaining to the role of gender ideologies and representations in Acts.

First, the author of Acts is consciously giving shape to his narrative. Because of the fact that there is not a single woman in the entire extended narrative who gives a speech, holds an office, serves in a leadership capacity, or participates as a missionary, we can safely say that the author is consciously playing down the role of women in the early church, and especially in the work of Paul.<sup>55</sup> This is further supported by the fact that there is evidence to the contrary in texts the author, as an interpreter of the Pauline tradition, likely knew (e.g., Romans 16).

Second, the presence of women in both Acts and the Column adds verisimilitude to the narrative to ground its picture of the early church as not constructed, but “real,” legitimized by “natural” hierarchies, and that its continued expansion is “inevitable.” See the discussion in [Chapter 1](#) for more on this theme as it relates to Acts and the Column of Trajan, which both have as their central goal convincing readers/viewers that they are “communicating truthfulness, documentary directness, completeness.”<sup>56</sup>

Third, the appearance of women in the narrative is strategic in clarifying that the leadership of qualified and capable male leaders drives the church. Thus, the chief male protagonists in Acts, especially Peter, Stephen, and Paul, are given pride of place because they paradigmatically embody the virtues of the church. This accords with the observations of Mitzi Smith who argues, “Women in Acts are proximate others over against whom the self-identity of males as approved intermediaries are constructed.”<sup>57</sup> Smith gives the following relevant example to illustrate the point: “if a community constructs its identity upon the belief of the superiority of male preaching, and a female emerges within the community with superior preaching skills, the authenticity of the community’s identity is called into question. Those females must either be deemed as exceptional, demonized, silenced, or the community must rethink and reconstruct its self-identity.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Jervell, *The Unknown Paul*, 152–53.

<sup>56</sup> Kampen, *Family Fictions in Roman Art*, 40.

<sup>57</sup> Mitzi J. Smith, *The Literary Construction of the Other in the Acts of the Apostles: Charismatics, the Jews, and Women* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2012), 95.

<sup>58</sup> In the words of Mitzi Smith, “Women as the internal other are never agents of the resolution of instabilities or the facilitators of order. This is strategic on Luke’s part. Males who are approved intermediaries engender resolution of conflict or disorder and facilitate or embody order. Women, as well as some men (e.g., Sapphira’s husband Ananias), embody disorder and function as a foil for the developing image of an orderly *ecclesia*. Luke acknowledges women’s presence, but women’s speech or lack thereof and women’s activity or inactivity foreground men’s presence, speech, and authority...” Smith, *The Literary Construction of the Other*, 96.

Fourth, the appearance of women in the narrative clarifies and enhances the virtues that the church offers to the world. For instance, women figure in the story as neglected widows in the daily distribution of food, which instigated a disagreement between the Greek- and Aramaic-speaking members in the Jerusalem community (Acts 6:1–6). In order to supervise the feeding of the widows, seven men are elected to oversee the distribution. Contrary to the role widows themselves play in this kind of ministry elsewhere in the New Testament (1 Timothy 5:9–16), Acts depicts this as a ministry exclusive to men. This image of widows as poor and needy provides the very opportunity for the church to better organize its charity, clarifying the protective nature of the church's male leaders, and enhancing the men's philanthropic investments.<sup>59</sup>

Fifth, the effects of Acts' gender arrangements are fundamentally ideological and inevitably reach beyond the text in shaping readers' attitudes. As Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner argue, "Insofar as Luke fronts a colonizing edge in his narrative, as well as displays an ideal masculine identity in the text, the reader is also shaped in this same direction. Not only does the reader come to see the ideology of Acts as correct and true, the reader is encouraged to enact and embody these same values and virtues, as well as the elements of imperial masculine identity, which, in turn, also creates desire for empire."<sup>60</sup>

In conclusion, efforts to define and achieve status in Roman society exercised a considerable influence on the production of early Christian representations. Through select stylistic and content choices, an author could compose a narrative that aroused the admiration of readers by depicting its protagonists as compatible with and excelling at certain standards of decorum reflected across different media. The representation of women and gender in Acts relates to the nature of Acts' historiographical program, which aims to monumentalize the story of the apostles in a way that appeared to be "true" while also measuring up to the standards of the day. As such, these observations relate to Acts' representational interests in depicting "the Way" as a movement that engenders the same norms among men and women as those that appear in Roman imperial representations of the period.

<sup>59</sup> Smith, *The Literary Construction of the Other*, 96; see also Barbara E. Reid, "The Power of the Widows and How to Suppress It (Acts 6.1–7)." Pages 71–88 in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (eds. Amy-Jill Levine with Marianne Blickenstaff; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 82–87.

<sup>60</sup> Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, *Contextualizing Gender in Early Christian Discourse: Thinking Beyond Thecla* (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 214.



## CONCLUSION

**A**LTHOUGH ACTS POSES AS A VERBAL RECORD OF THE DEVELOPMENTS of the apostolic church as they actually happened, it is better understood as the end product of countless representational choices. Its narrative does not simply present these events as they occurred; rather, it is active in shaping how its audience experiences and remembers them. Modern readers will quite likely never know why Luke wrote Acts.<sup>1</sup> While this work has shown that there is a clear convergence between the pragmatic choices of the author and the representational trends circulating across the empire, the motivations of individuals, whether they be ancient or modern, are always difficult to untangle. It is probably impossible to distinguish whether any given cultural production is designed as a conscious strategy for self-promotion from that generated from an unconscious internalization of wider cultural values.<sup>2</sup>

This study began by proposing that while empire-critical approaches to the New Testament have yielded significant advances, future research would greatly benefit from a heightened particularism when considering the manifold ways in which early Christian discourse interfaces with the Roman Empire.<sup>3</sup> More specifically, it was argued that the study of Christian

<sup>1</sup> As Walter Liefeld notes, “It is probable that more theories exist as to the purpose of Acts than for any other New Testament book.” Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts* (Guides to New Testament Exegesis 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995), 21. See also *ibid.*, 30–32, which includes a survey of six prominent theories about the purpose of Acts, where he concludes, “Proposals regarding purpose are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Even where a dominant purpose can be found for a particular piece of writing, ancillary purposes are legitimate,” 30.

<sup>2</sup> This tendency may reflect broader patterns among communities across the empire, Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 74.

<sup>3</sup> As Malina and Pilch argue, “the two-volume Luke–Acts is an occasional writing. Given the fact that it was written for a specific Jesus group in specific circumstances, Luke–Acts is



discourse in the Roman world must take into consideration that the empire was subject to diachronic variance and constructed through a variety of media.<sup>4</sup> While scholars may doubt the extent to which we can situate Acts within a particular period (or place) in the evolution of the empire, I find it extremely difficult to explain Luke's work without reference to the Trajanic context proposed throughout this study. This is largely due to the fact that Acts sits in sharp contrast to other early Christian literature, especially the book of Revelation, in how it envisages and positions itself vis-à-vis Rome. This "original achievement" requires ongoing investigation in the conditions shaping *how* it relates the *ekklesia* to its environment and *why* it does so in the way it does.<sup>5</sup> Notions of empire circulating during the reign of Trajan appear to have been productive for early Christians thinking about their own place in the world. In an age when the imperial project was masked as a benevolent civilizing mission that was integrating a vast territory under a centralized government with a shared set of ideals and values, early Christians sought to commemorate their founders in such a way so as to not only expunge negative traits that did not fit the ethos but also to make them stand out as exemplars and contributors of Rome's civilizing ideals and mission. Thus, it is no wonder that Paul's journey ends in the imperial capital where Paul is finally able to proclaim the kingdom of God with "boldness" and "without hindrance."

In the end, my objective was to show how Acts of the Apostles was very much a product of its age and conformed to the representational standards that were visible and helped construct the broader social environment. By looking to the multimedia context of the early second century to

occasional, written at a certain time to realize certain purposes (especially certainty), thus working to keep the ingroup intact. In other words, Luke-Acts was not written for all people of all times... Luke-Acts is not concerned about the outgroup. This means that these volumes are not documents for outsiders. They were not composed to be shared with non-Jesus group members to read, so that they might become Jesus group members. On the contrary, they are documents to be read within specific groups to maintain those groups in their loyalty to the God of Israel as revealed in the experience of Jesus and those change agents commissioned by him. The themes that they emphasize are themes that the writer and his audience believed the ingroup would find relevant to hear at a certain time and in a given situation... In other words, Luke-Acts was not written for missionizing or proselytizing." Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Social-Science Commentary; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 9–10.

<sup>4</sup> Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of a Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 4.

<sup>5</sup> See Hans Conzelman, *The Theology of St. Luke* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 137.

identify those representational trends and status indices that were central for Acts, we were able to elucidate what ancient audiences would have intuitively recognized as the contemporary significance of its narrative presentation. Acts presents “the Way” as a growing community negotiating its place within the larger and more established structures of society. The virtues they are seen championing depend on their ability to honor, promote, and reproduce within themselves the principles and workings of the larger whole.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achtemeier, Paul J. "An Elusive Unity: Paul, Acts, and the Early Church." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (1986): 1–26.
- Adams, Colin E. P. *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Adams, Sean A. *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*. SNTSMS. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Adams, Sean A., and Michael W. Pahl, eds., *Issues in Luke-Acts: Selected Essays*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012.
- Ahn, Yong-Sung. *The Reign of God and Rome in Luke's Passion Narrative: An East Asian Global Perspective*. Biblical Interpretation Series 80. Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Alcock, Susan E. *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Alexander, Loveday. "Luke's Political Vision." *Interpretation* 66, no. 3 (2012): 283–93.
- Acts. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007.
- Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles. Library of New Testament Studies; Early Christianity in Context 298. New York: T & T Clark, 2005.
- "Mapping Early Christianity: Acts and the Shape of Early Church History." *Int* 57 (2003): 163–75.
- "Marathon or Jericho? Reading Acts in Dialogue with Biblical and Greek Historiography." Pages 92–105 in *Auguries: The Jubilee Volume of the Sheffield Department of Biblical Studies*. Edited by David J. A. Clines and Stephen D. Moore. JSOTSup 269. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- "'In Journeying Often': Voyaging in the Acts of the Apostles and in Greek Romance." Pages 17–49 in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays*. Edited by Christopher M. Tuckett. JSNTSup 116. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- "Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography." Pages 31–63 in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*. Edited by Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993.
- The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 78. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- ed. *Images of Empire*. JSOTSup 122. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.

- Anderson, James C. *Roman Architecture and Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Ando, Clifford. *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. Classics and Contemporary Thought 6. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Assmann, Aleida. *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Attridge, Harold W. "The Philosophical Critique of Religion under the Early Empire." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*. Vol. II.16.1 (1980): 45–78.
- Aune, David E. *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1987.
- Awad, Johnny. "From Saul to Paul: The Conversion of Paul the Apostle." *Theological Review* 32, no. 1 (2011): 1–14.
- Baker, Coleman A. *Identity, Memory, and Narrative: Peter, Paul, and Recategorization in Acts and Early Christianity*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011.
- "Early Christian Identity Formation: From Ethnicity and Theology to Socio-Narrative Criticism." *Currents in Biblical Research* 9, no. 2 (2011): 228–37.
- Baker, Cynthia M. "'From Every Nation under Heaven': Jewish Ethnicities in the Greco-Roman World." Pages 79–99 in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christianity*. Edited by Laura Nasrallah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2010.
- Balch, David L. "Accepting Others: God's Boundary Crossing According to Isaiah and Luke-Acts." *Currents in Theology and Mission*. 36, no. 6 (2009): 414–23.
- "The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History?" *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 33, no. 1 (1990): 5–19.
- "Comments on the Genre and a Political Theme of Luke-Acts: A Preliminary Comparison of Two Hellenistic Historians." Pages 343–61 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1989*. SBLSP 28. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989.
- "Acts as Hellenistic Historiography." Pages 429–32 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1985*. SBLSP 24. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Romans and Aliens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Barbi, Augusto. "The Use and Meaning of (*Hoī*) *Ioudaioi* in Acts." Pages 123–42 in *Luke and Acts*. Edited by Gerald O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi. New York: Paulist Press, 1993.
- Barreto, Eric D. "Negotiating Difference: Theology and Ethnicity in the Acts of the Apostles." *Word & World* 31, no. 2 (2011): 129–37.
- Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts* 16. WUNT 294. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Barr, David L., and Judith Wentling. "Classical Biography and Luke-Acts." Pages 63–88 in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*. Edited by Charles H. Talbert. New York: Crossroad, 1984.
- Barrett, C. K. "The Historicity of Acts." *The Journal of Theological Studies* 50, no. 2 (1999): 515–34.
- Acts 15–28: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. ICC. London: T&T Clark, 1998.

- Acts 1–14: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. ICC. London: T&T Clark, 1994.
- Bauckham, Richard. “James, Peter, and the Gentiles.” Pages 91–142 in *The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul: Tensions in Early Christianity*. Edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans. NovTSup 115. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- “The Restoration of Israel in Luke–Acts.” Pages 435–87 in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*. Edited by James M. Scott. JSJSup 72. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- “James and the Jerusalem Church.” Pages 415–80 in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting*. Edited by Richard Bauckham. *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting* 4. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995.
- ed. *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting*. Vol. 4 of *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995.
- Beckmann, Martin. *The Column of Marcus Aurelius: The Genesis and Meaning of a Roman Imperial Monument*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Bennett, Julian. *Trajan: Optimus Princeps*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- Berns, Christof. “Private Feigebigkeit und die Verschönerung von Städtbildern.” Pages 73–82 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- Berriman, Andrew, and Malcom Todd. “A Very Roman Coup: The Hidden War of Imperial Succession, AD 96–8.” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 50, no. 3 (2001): 312–31.
- Berthelot, Katell. “Hecataeus of Abdera and Jewish ‘Misanthropy.’” *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem* 19 (2008): <http://bcrfj.revues.org/5968>.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Bird, Michael F. “The Unity of Luke–Acts in Recent Discussion.” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29 (2007): 425–48.
- Birley, Anthony. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Bloom, James J. *The Jewish Revolts against Rome, A.D. 66–135: A Military Analysis*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2010.
- Boatwright, Mary T. “Trajan Outside Rome: Construction and Embellishment in Italy and the Provinces.” Pages 259–77 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)*. Edited by Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Bock, Darrell L. *Acts*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007.
- Bockmuehl, Markus. *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- Bondi, Richard A. “Become Such as I Am: St. Paul in The Acts of the Apostles.” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 27, no. 4 (1997): 164–76.
- Bonz, Marianne Palmer. “Luke’s Revision of Paul’s Reflections in Romans 9–11.” Pages 143–51 in *Early Christian Voices: In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols: Essays in Honor of François Bovon*. Edited by David H. Warren, Ann Graham Brock, and David W. Pao. Leiden: Brill Academic, 2003.

- The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000.
- Borgman, Paul. *The Way According to Luke: Hearing the Whole Story of Luke-Acts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Boschung, Dietrich. "Ein Kaiser in vielen Rollen: Bildnisse des Traian." Pages 163–71 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Bovon, François. *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research (1950–2005)*, 2nd ed. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 36. Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1995.
- "Studies in Luke-Acts: Retrospect and Prospect." *The Harvard Theological Review* 85, no. 2 (1992): 175–96.
- Bovon, François, and Bertrand Bouvier, "Étienne le premier martyr: du livre canonique au récit apocryphe." Pages 309–32 in *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift für Eckhard Plümacher zu seinem 65*. Edited by Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter, Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Bowersock, G. W. *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Boyle, A. J., and W. J. Dominik, eds. *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*. Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Brawley, Robert L. "Paul in Acts: Aspects of Structure and Characterization." Pages 90–105 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1988*. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers SBLSP 27. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988.
- Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation*. SBLMS 33. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1987.
- Brawley, Robert L., David M. Rhoads, David Esterline, and Jae-won Lee, eds. *Luke-Acts and Empire: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Brawley*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 151. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011.
- Brent, Allen. "Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult in Asia Minor." *Journal of Theological Studies* 48, no. 2 (1997): 411–38.
- Breytenbach, Cilliers, and Jens Schröter, eds. *Die Apostelgeschichte Und Die Hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift Für Eckhard Plümacher Zu Seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity AGJU 57. Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Brilliant, Richard. *Commentaries on Roman Art: Selected Studies*. London: Pindar Press, 1994.
- "'I Come to You as Your Lord': Late Roman Imperial Art." *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*. Edited by David Castriota. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986.
- Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Brinks, C. L. "'Great Is Artemis of the Ephesians': Acts 19:23–41 in Light of Goddess Worship in Ephesus." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2009): 776–94.
- Bruce, F. F. *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
- The Book of the Acts*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988.

- "The Acts of the Apostles: Historical Record or Theological Reconstruction?" *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2. 25.3 (1980): 2569–603.
- "Is the Paul of Acts the Real Paul?" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 58, no. 2 (1976): 282–305.
- "Christianity under Claudius." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 44 (1962): 309–26.
- Burnett, Andrew. *Coinage in the Roman World*. London: Seaby, 1987.
- Burrus, Virginia. "The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles." Pages 133–55 in *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*. Edited by R. S. Sugirtharajah. New York: T & T Clark, 2007.
- Butticaz, Simon. "'Has God Rejected His People?' (Romans 11.1). The Salvation of Israel in Acts: Narrative Claim of a Pauline Legacy." Pages 148–64 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. Edited by David P. Moessner, Daniel Marguerat, Mikael C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter; LNTS 452; London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- Cadbury, Henry J., and Paul N. Anderson, *The Making of Luke-Acts*. London: SPCK, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Book of Acts in History*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Style and Method of St. Luke*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Cameron, Averil. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of a Christian Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Campbell, Brian. *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Carter, Warren. *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide*. Abingdon Essential Guides. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2006.
- Cassidy, Richard J. "Saint Luke Does Not Apologize!" *The Bible Today* 45 (2007): 17–21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Non-Roman Opponents of Paul." Pages 150–62 in *New Views on Luke and Acts*. Edited by Earl Richard. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987.
- Casson, Lionel. *Libraries in the Ancient World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Castriota, David, ed. *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction: Political Art and the Rhetoric of Power in the Historical Continuum." Pages 1–14 in *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986.
- Charlesworth, M. P. *The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief*. The Raleigh Lecture on History, British Academy. London: Humphrey Milford, 1937.
- Chevallier, Raymond. *Aïôn: le temps chez les Romains*. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1976.
- Ciecieliag, Jerzy. "Anti-Jewish Policy of the Roman Empire from Vespasian until Hadrian, in the Light of Numismatic Sources – Fact or Myth?" *Israel Numismatic Research*, no. 1 (2006): 101–10.
- Cizek, E. *L'époque de Trajan: circonstances politiques et problèmes idéologiques*. Paris: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983.
- Claridge, Amanda. "Hadrian's Lost Temple of Trajan." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20 (2007): 54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Hadrian's Column of Trajan." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 5–22.
- Clark, Andrew C. *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*. Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs. Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2007.



- Clarke, John R. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Clarke, Katherine. *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Coarelli, Filippo. *The Column of Trajan*. Translated by Cynthia Rockwell. Rome: Colombo, 2000.
- Cohen, Shaye J. D. "Was Timothy Jewish (Acts 16:1–3)? Patristic Exegesis, Rabbinic Law, and Matrilineal Descent." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105, no. 2 (1986): 251–68.
- Conway, Colleen M. *Behold the Man Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Conzelmann, Hans. *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. Translated by James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juell. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1987.
- Die Apostelgeschichte*. 2nd ed. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 1972.
- The Theology of St. Luke*. Translated by Geoffrey Buswell. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982.
- Cook, Michael J. "The Mission to the Jews in Acts: Unraveling Luke's 'Myth of the Myriads.'" Pages 102–23 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Joseph B. Tyson. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988.
- Cotton, Hannah. "The Concept of Indulgentia under Trajan." *Chiron* xiv (1984): 245–66.
- Coulston, Jon. "Transport and Travel on the Column of Trajan." *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. Edited by Colin Adams and Ray Laurence. Roman Archaeology Conference. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- D'Ambra, Eve. *Roman Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- D'Angelo, Mary Rose. "The ANHP Question in Luke-Acts: Imperial Masculinity and the Deployment of Women in the Early Second Century." Pages 44–69 in *A Feminist Companion to Luke*. Edited by Amy-Jill Levine and Marianne Blickenstaff. New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- "Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View." *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 441–61.
- Dahle, Lars. "Acts 17:16–34: An Apologetic Model Then and Now?" *Tyndale Bulletin* 53, no. 2 (2002): 313–16.
- Danker, Frederick W. "Graeco-Roman Cultural Accommodation in the Christology of Luke-Acts." 1983 *Seminar Papers: One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Meeting, December 19–22, 1983, the Loews Anatole, Dallas, Texas*. Edited by Kent Harold Richards. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.
- Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field*. St. Louis: Clayton, 1982.
- Darr, John A. *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992.
- Darwall-Smith, Robin. *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome*. Bruxelles: Latomus, 1996.
- Davies, John D. "Inclusion in the Acts of the Apostles." *The Expository Times* 124, no. 9 (2013): 425–32.
- Davies, Penelope J. E. "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration." *American Journal of Archaeology: The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America* 101, no. 1 (1997): 41–65.
- Dean, Mitchell. "The Genealogy of the Gift in Antiquity." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology (TAAJ)* 5, no. 1–2 (1994): 320–29.

- De Blois, Lukas, Paul Erdkamp, Olivier Hekster, Gerda De Kleijn, and Stephan Mols, eds. *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, C. 200 B.C.–A.D. 476), Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20–23, 2002*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Del Monte, M., P. Ausset, and R. A. Lefevre. "Traces of Ancient Colours on Trajan's Column." *ARCM Archaeometry* 40, no. 2 (1998): 403–12.
- De Long, Kindalee Pffremmer. *Surprised by God: Praise Responses in the Narrative of Luke-Acts*. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Deutschmann, Anton. "Die Hoffnung Israels (Apg 28,20)." *Biblische Notizen*, no. 105 (2000): 54–60.
- Dibelius, Martin. *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*. Edited by Heinrich Greeven. Translated by Mary Ling and Paul Schubert. London: SCM, 1956.
- Diehl, Judy. "Anti-Imperial Rhetoric in the New Testament." *Currents in Biblical Research* 10, no. 1 (2011): 9–52.
- Dillon, Sheila. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Donaldson, Terrence L. "Moses Typology and the Sectarian Nature of Early Christian Anti-Judaism: A Study in Acts 7." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 4, no. 12 (1981): 27–52.
- Dowsett, Rosemary M. "Acts of the Apostles." Pages 606–27 in *The IVP Women's Bible Commentary*. Edited by Catherine Clark Kroeger and Mary J. Evans. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002.
- Droge, Arthur J. 'Apologetics, NT.' Pages 302–7 in *Anchor Bible Dictionary I*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1998.
- Dube Shomanah, Musa W. *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*. St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2000.
- Ducharme, Lori, and Gary Alan Fine, "The Construction of Nonpersonhood and Demonization: Commemorating the 'Traitorous' Reputation of Benedict Arnold." Pages 296–99 in *The Collective Memory Reader*. Edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Dunn, James D. G. *The Acts of the Apostles*. Peterborough: Epworth, 1996.
- The Parting of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity*. London: SCM, 1991.
- Dupertuis, Rubén R., and Todd C. Penner, eds., *Engaging Early Christian History: Reading Acts in the Second Century*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Dupont, Jacques. *Nouvelles Études Sur Les Actes Des Apôtres*. *Lectio divina* 118. Paris: Cerf, 1984.
- "La Conclusion Des Actes et Son Rapport À L'ouvrage de Luc." Pages 359–404 in *Les Actes Des Apôtres: Traditions, Rédaction, Théologie*. Edited by Jacob Kremer. BETL 48. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979.
- The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles*. New York: Paulist, 1979.
- Études Sur Les Actes Des Apôtres*. *Lectio divina* 45. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967.
- The Sources of the Acts*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1964.
- Eck, Werner, "Traian – Der Weg zum Kaisertum." Pages 7–20 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.

- Edwards, Catharine, and Greg Woolf. *Rome the Cosmopolis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Edwards, Douglas R. *Religion & Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- “Acts of the Apostles and the Graeco-Roman World: Narrative Communication in Social Contexts.” Pages 362–77 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1989*. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers SBLSP 28. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Edwards, Mark, Martin Goodman, Simon R. F. Price, Christopher Rowland. *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Ehrhardt, Arnold. *The Acts of the Apostles: Ten Lectures*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969.
- Eims, LeRoy. *Disciples in Action*. Colorado Springs, Colo.: Navpress, 1981.
- Eisen, Ute E. *Die Poetik Der Apostelgeschichte: Eine Narratologische Studie*. Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 58. Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006.
- Eliav, Yaron. “Jews and Judaism 70–429 CE.” Pages 565–86 in *A Companion to the Roman Empire*. Edited by David S. Potter. Oxford: Blackwell, 2010.
- Elsner, Jaś. *Roman Eyes: Visuality & Subjectivity in Art & Text*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- ed. *Art and Text in Roman Culture*. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- “Inventing Imperium: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome.” Pages 32–53 in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*. Edited by Jaś Elsner. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Enenkel, K. A. E., and Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer. *The Manipulative Mode: Political Propaganda in Antiquity: A Collection of Case Studies*. Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Epp, Eldon J. *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Esler, Philip Francis. *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology*. Society for New Testament Studies 57. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Estrada, Nelson P. *From Followers to Leaders: The Apostles in the Ritual of Status Transformation in Acts 1–2*. JSNTSup 255. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Evans, Craig A., and Donald A. Hagner, eds. *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity: Issues of Polemic and Faith*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Evans, Craig A., and James A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: the Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Ewald, Björn Christian, and Carlos F. Noreña, eds. *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Fagan, Garrett G. *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Fairweather, W. “The Greek Apologists of the Second Century.” *The Biblical World* 26, no. 2 (1905): 132–43.

- Farmer, William R., ed., *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Feldman, Louis H. *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Fentress, Elizabeth, and Susan E. Alcock. "Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14–16 May, 1998." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 38 (2000).
- Fentress, James, and Chris Wickham. *Social Memory*. New Perspectives on the Past. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.
- Fernando, Ajith. *Acts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998.
- Ferris, I. M. *Hate and War: The Column of Marcus Aurelius*. Gloucestershire: History Press, 2009.
- Enemies of Rome*. Stroud: Sutton, 2000.
- Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007.
- In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*. New York: Crossroad, 1983.
- Fittschen, K. "Das Bildprogramm des Trajansbogens zu Benevent." *Der Archäologische Anzeiger* 87 (1972): 742–88.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Acts of the Apostles*. Anchor Bible. New York: Doubleday, 1998.
- Luke the Theologian: Aspects of His Theology*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989.
- "Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls." Pages 233–57 in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*. Edited by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn. London: SPCK, 1968.
- Fitzpatrick-McKinley, Anne. "Synagogue Communities in the Graeco-Roman Cities." Pages 55–87 in *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*. Edited by John R. Bartlett. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Flessen, Bonnie J. *An Exemplary Man: Cornelius and Characterization in Acts 10*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011.
- Flichy, Odile. "The Paul of Luke, A Survey of Research." Pages 18–34 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. Edited by David P. Moessner et al. Translated by James D. Ernest. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- La figure de Paul dans les Actes des Apôtres: Un phénomène de réception de la tradition paulinienne à la fin du premier siècle*. *Lectio divina* 214. Paris: Cerf, 2007.
- Flower, Harriet I. "A Tale of Two Monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and Some Praetorians at Puteoli (AE 1973, 137)." *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 4 (2001): 625–48.
- Foakes Jackson, F. J., and Kirsopp Lake, eds. *The Acts of the Apostles*. The Beginnings of Christianity, Vol. 1. London: Macmillan, 1922.
- Franklin, Eric. *Luke: Interpreter of Paul, Critic of Matthew*. JSNTSup 92. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.
- Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975.
- Frey, Jörg, Clare K. Rothschild, and Jens Schröter, eds. *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die

- neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 162. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009.
- Frilingos, Chris. "Early Christianity and the Discourse of Empire in the First Three Centuries CE." *Religion Compass* 4 (2010): 144–56.
- Gager, John G. "Jews, Gentiles, and Synagogues in the Book of Acts." *The Harvard Theological Review* 79, no. 1/3 (1986): 91–99.
- The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Garland, Robert. "Book Review: Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 239–40.
- Garnsey, Peter, and Isabelle Rozenbaum. *Famine et approvisionnement dans le monde gréco-romain: Réactions aux risques et aux crises*. Paris: Belles lettres, 1996.
- Garnsey, Peter, and Richard P. Saller. *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Gasque, W. Ward. "The Historical Value of Acts." *Tyndale Bulletin* 40, no. 1 (1989): 136–57.
- A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1975.
- Gaston, Lloyd. "Anti-Judaism and the Passion Narrative in Luke and Acts." Pages 1. 127–54 in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*. Vol. 1, *Paul and the Gospels*. Edited by Peter Richardson and David Granskou. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986.
- Gauthier, Philippe. *Les Cités Grecques et Leurs Bienfaiteurs*. Athènes; Paris: Ecole française d'Athènes; Diffusion De Boccard, 1985.
- Gaventa, Beverly Roberts. *Acts*. ANTC. Nashville: Abingdon, 2003.
- Getty-Sullivan, Mary Ann. *Women in the New Testament*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2001.
- Gilbert, Gary. "Jews in Imperial Administration and Its Significance for Dating the Jewish Donor Inscription from Aphrodisias." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 35, no. 2 (2004): 169–84.
- "Roman Propaganda and Christian Identity." Pages 233–56 in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*. Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series no. 20. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- "The List of Nations in Acts 2: Roman Propaganda and the Lukan Response." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121, no. 3 (2002): 497–529.
- Gill, David W. J. "Acts and Roman Policy in Judaea." Pages 15–26 in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting*. Edited by Richard Bauckham. The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 4. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995.
- Gill, David W. J. and Conrad H. Gempf, eds. *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- "Achaia." Pages 433–53 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. Edited by David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf. The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Goodman, Martin. *Roman World 44BC–180AD*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- "Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews." *Past and Present* 182 (2004): 3–29.

- “Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War.” Pages 23–29 in *The Bar Kokhba War: New Perspectives*. Edited by Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- Goulder, Michael D. “Did Luke Know Any of the Pauline Letters.” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 13, no. 2 (1986): 97–112.
- Gowing, Alain M. *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Gowler, David B. “Characterization in Luke: A Socio-Narratological Approach.” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 19, no. 2 (1989): 54–62.
- Grant, Michael. *Art in the Roman Empire*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Grässer, Erich. *Forschungen Zur Apostelgeschichte*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 137. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Green, Joel B. *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Gregory, Andrew. “The Reception of Luke and Acts and the Unity of Luke-Acts.” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29 (2007): 459–72.
- . *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, Reihe 169. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- Gregory, Andrew, and C. Kavin Rowe, eds. *Rethinking the Unity and Reception of Luke and Acts*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010.
- Griffin, Miriam. “De Beneficiis and Roman Society.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 92–113.
- . “Trajan.” *The Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd Edition: XI: The High Empire, AD 70–192*. Edited by Alan K. Bowman; Peter Garnsey. Dominic Rathbone. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 96–131.
- Gruen, Erich S. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- . ed. *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011.
- Haacker, Klaus. “Das Bekenntnis des Paulus zur Hoffnung Israels nach der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas.” *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985): 437–51.
- Haenchen, Ernst. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971.
- . “Judentum Und Christentum in Der Apostelgeschichte.” *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Und Die Kunde Der Älteren Kirche* 54 (1963): 155–87.
- Hamberg, Per Gustaf. *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1968.
- Hamm, M. Dennis. *The Acts of the Apostles*. The New Collegeville Bible Commentary 5. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2005.
- Hands, Arthur Robinson. *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Hannestad, Niels. *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*. Århus: Aarhus University Press, 1988.
- Harnack, Adolf von. *Acts*. Translated by John Richard Wilkinson. New Testament Studies. London: Williams & Norgate, 1909.
- Hedlund, Randall J. “A New Reading of Acts 18:24–19:7: Understanding the Ephesian Disciples Encounter as Social Conflict.” *Religion and Theology* 17, no. 1–2 (2010): 40–60.
- Hedrick, Pamela. “Fewer Answers and Further Questions: Jews and Gentiles in Acts.” *Interpretation* 66, no. 3 (2012): 294–305.

- Heen, E. M. "Radical Patronage in Luke-Acts." *Currents in Theology and Mission* 33, no. 6 (2006): 445–58.
- Hekler, Antal. *Greek & Roman Portraits*. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972.
- Hemer, Colin J. *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 49. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989.
- Hengel, Martin. "The Pre-Christian Paul." Pages 29–52 in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians: In the Roman Empire*. Edited by Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*. Translated by J. Bowden. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
- Hesberg, Henner von. "Die Bautätigkeit Traians in Italien." Pages 85–96 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- Hojte, J. M. "Imperial Visits as Occasion for the Erection of Portrait Statues?" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 133 (2000): 221–35.
- Holladay, Carl R. "Acts and the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors." *Novum Testamentum* 53, no. 1 (2011): 22–51.
- "Paul and His Predecessors in the Diaspora: Some Reflections on Ethnic Identity in the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors." Pages 429–60 in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*. Edited by John T. Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Olbricht, and L. Michael White. NovTSup 110. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- Holliday, Peter James. *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Holmås, Geir Otto. *Prayer and Vindication in Luke-Acts: The Theme of Prayer within the Context of the Legitimizing and Edifying Objective of the Lukan Narrative*. LNTS 433. London: T&T Clark, 2011.
- "'My House Shall Be a House of Prayer': Regarding the Temple as a Place of Prayer in Acts within the Context of Luke's Apologetical Objective." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27, no. 4 (2005): 393–416.
- Hölscher, Tonio. *The Language of Images in Roman Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- "Bilder der Macht und Herrschaft." Pages 127–44 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- Howell, Justin R. "The Imperial Authority and Benefaction of Centurions and Acts 10.34–43: A Response to C. Kavin Rowe." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31, no. 1 (2008): 25–51.
- Hubbard, Benjamin J. "Luke, Josephus and Rome: A Comparative Approach to the Lucan Sitz-im-Leben." Pages 59–68 in *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers*. Edited by Paul J. Achtemeier. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979.
- Huet, Valérie. "Stories One Might Tell of Roman Art: Reading Trajan's Column and the Tiberius Cup." *Art and Text in Roman Culture*. Edited by Jaś Elsner. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hvalvik, Reidar. "Paul as a Jewish Believer – According to the Book of Acts." Pages 121–53 in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries*. Edited by Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007.



- Isaac, Benjamin. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Jacobsen, Anders-Christian, Jörg Ulrich, and David Brakke, eds. *Critique and Apologetics: Jews, Christians, and Pagans in Antiquity*. Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity v. 4. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Jervell, Jacob. *Luke and the People of God*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002.
- Die Apostelgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998.
- The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*. New Testament Theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1984.
- Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1972.
- Jipp, Joshua W. *Divine Visitations and Hospitality to Strangers in Luke-Acts: An Interpretation of the Malta Episode in Acts 28:1–10*. NovTSup. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The Acts of the Apostles*. Sacra Pagina 5. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992.
- Johnston, David. "Munificence and Municipia: Bequests to Towns in Classical Roman Law." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 105–25.
- Jones, C. P. *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Kampen, Natalie Boymel. *Family Fictions in Roman Art*. New York: Cambridge, 2009.
- "What is a Man?" Pages 3–15 in *What is a Man? Changing Images of Masculinity in Late Antique Art*. Edited by Natalie Boymel Kampen, Elizabeth Marlowe, and Rebecca M. Molhol. Portland: Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery, 2002.
- "Looking at Gender: The Column of Trajan and Roman Historical Relief." Pages 46–73 in *Feminisms in the Academy*. Edited by Domna C. Stanton and Abigail J. Stewart. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Kaumba Mufwata Cissolah, Albert. *Jusqu'aux Extrémités De La Terre: La Référence Aux Prophètes Comme Fondement De L'ouverture Universaliste Aux Chapitres 2 Et 13 Des Actes Des Apôtres*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 67. Paris: J. Gabalda, 2006.
- Kauppi, Lynn Allan. *Foreign but Familiar Gods: Greco-Romans Read Religion in Acts*. LNTS 277. London: T&T Clark, 2006.
- Kearsley, R. A. "The Asiarchs." Pages 363–76 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. Edited by David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Keck, Leander E. "The Jewish Paul among the Gentiles: Two Portrayals." Pages 461–81 in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*. Edited by John T. Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Olbricht, and L. Michael White. NovTSup 110. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- Keck, Leander E., and J. Louis Martyn, eds. *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
- Kee, Howard Clark. *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*. The New Testament in Context. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997.
- Good News to the Ends of the Earth: The Theology of Acts*. London: SCM, 1991.
- Keener, Craig S. *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary, Vol. 1: Introduction and 1:1–4:30*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012.

- Kennedy, Duncan F. "'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan': Reflections on Terms of Reference." Pages 26–58 in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*. Edited by Anton Powell. Bristol: Bristol National Press, 1998.
- Kern, Philip H. "Paul's Conversion and Luke's Portrayal of Character." *Acts* 8–10, *TynBul* 54, no. 2 (2003): 63–80.
- Kiley, Mark. "Roman Legends and Luke-Acts." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 39, no. 3 (2009): 135–42.
- Kilgallen, John J. "Luke Wrote to Rome – A Suggestion." *Biblica* 80 (2007): 251–55.
- "Acts 20:35 and Thucydides 2.97.4." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112, no. 2 (1993): 312–14.
- A Brief Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. New York: Paulist, 1988.
- "Acts: Literary and Theological Turning Points." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 7, no. 4 (1977): 177–80.
- Kim, Ho Sung. "Collusion and Subversion: Luke's Representation of the Roman Empire." PhD diss. Madison, NJ: Drew University, 2009.
- Klauck, Hans-Josef. *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: The World of the Acts of the Apostles*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Kleiner, Fred S. *A History of Roman Art*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010.
- Klutz, Todd. *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Knox, John. "Acts and the Pauline Letter Corpus." Pages 279–87 in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*. Edited by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn. London: SPCK, 1968.
- Koepfel, Gerhard. "The Column of Trajan: Narrative Technique and the Image of the Emperor." Pages 245–57 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)*. Edited by Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- Koester, Helmut. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Vol. 2, History and Literature of Early Christianity. 2nd ed. New York: de Gruyter, 2000.
- Koet, B. J. *Dreams and Scripture in Luke-Acts: Collected Essays*. CBET 42. Leuven: Peeters, 2006.
- "Paul in Rome (Acts 28,16–31): A Farewell to Judaism?" Pages 97–118 in *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts*. Studiorum Novi Testamenti auxilia 14. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989.
- Kraemer, Ross S. *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Christians and Jews in the Greco-Roman World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Kraemer, Ross Shepard and Mary Rose D'Angelo, eds. *Women and Christian Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Kreitzer, Larry Joseph. *Pauline Images in Fiction and Film: On Reversing the Hermeneutical Flow*. The Biblical Seminar 61. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- "A Numismatic Clue to Acts 19.23–41 the Ephesian Cistophori of Claudius and Agrippina." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 9, no. 30 (1987): 59–70.
- Kremer, Jacob. *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*. Papers presented at the 28th Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense, August 17–19, 1977. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 48. Louvain, Belgium: Louvain University Press, 1979.
- Krodel, Gerhard. *Acts*. ACNT. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1986.

- Kuhn, Karl Allen. *Luke: The Elite Evangelist (Paul's Social Network: Brothers and Sisters in Faith)*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010.
- Kuhoff, W. Felicio Augusto. *Melior Traiano: Aspekte der Salbestdarstellung der römische Kaiser während der Prinzipatszeit*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 1993.
- Kurz, William S. *Acts of the Apostles*. Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013.
- The Acts of the Apostles*. Collegeville Bible Commentary 5. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1983.
- "Hellenistic Rhetoric in the Christological Proof of Luke-Acts." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1980): 171-95.
- Kyrychenko, Alexander. "The Roman Army and the Expansion of the Gospel: The Role of the Centurion in Luke-Acts." Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Fur die Neutestamentliche Wissensch. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2014.
- Labahn, Michael. "'Boldly and without Hindrance He Preached the Kingdom of God and Taught about the Lord Jesus Christ' (Acts 28.31): Paul's Public Proclamation in Rome as the Finale of a Shipwreck." Pages 56-76 in *Christians as a Religious Minority in a Multicultural City: Modes of Interaction and Identity Formation in Early Imperial Rome*. Edited by Jürgen Zangenberg and Michael Labahn. JSNTSup 243. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Ladouceur, David. "Hellenistic Preconceptions of Shipwreck and Pollution as a Context for Acts 27-28." *The Harvard Theological Review* 73, no. 3/4 (1980): 435-49.
- Laird, Andrew. "Vt Figura Poesis: Writing Art and the Art of Writing in Augustan Poetry." Pages 75-102 in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*. Edited by Jaś Elsner. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Lamoreaux, Jason T. "Social Identity, Boundary Breaking, and Ritual: Saul's Recruitment on the Road to Damascus." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 38, no. 3 (2008): 122-34.
- Lamp, Kathleen. "The Ara Pacis Augustae: Visual Rhetoric in Augustus' Principate." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (2009): 1-24.
- Lancaster, Lynne. "Building Trajan's Markets 2: The Construction Process." *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, no. 4 (2000): 755-85.
- "Building Trajan's Markets." *American Journal of Archaeology* 102, no. 2 (1998): 283-308.
- Larkin, William J. *Acts*. IVP New Testament Commentary Series 5. Downers, IL: InterVarsity, 1995.
- La Rocca, Eugenio. "Art and Representation." *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*. Edited by Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Laurence, Ray. "Introduction." Pages 1-9 in *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*. Edited by Ray Laurence and Joanne Berry. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Leach, Eleanor Winsor. "The Politics of Self-Presentation: Pliny's 'Letters' and Roman Portrait Sculpture." *Classical Antiquity* 9, no. 1 (Apr., 1990): 14-39.
- Le Donne, Anthony, and Tom Thatcher, eds. *The Fourth Gospel in First-Century Media Culture*. The Library of New Testament Studies. New York: T&T Clark, 2012.
- Lentz, John Clayton. *Luke's Portrait of Paul*. Society for New Testament Studies 77. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Lepper, F. A. and S. S. Frere. *Trajan's Column: A New Edition of the Cichorius Plates*. Gloucester: Sutton, 1988.

- Levine, Amy-Jill, and Marianne Blickenstaff, eds. *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles*. Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings 9. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Feminist Companion to Luke*. New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of Matthew." Pages 9–62 in *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*. Edited by William R. Farmer. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Levinskaya, Irina. *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*. The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 5. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996.
- LiDonnici, L. R. "The Images of Artemis Ephesia and Greco-Roman Worship: A Reconsideration." *The Harvard Theological Review* 85, no. 4 (1992): 389–415.
- Liefeld, Walter L. *Interpreting the Book of Acts*. Guides to New Testament Exegesis 4. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995.
- Lieu, Judith, John North, and Tessa Rajak, eds., *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Lintott, A. W. *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2013.
- Litke, Wayne. "Luke's Knowledge of the Septuagint: A Study of the Citations in Luke-Acts." PhD diss. McMaster University, 1993.
- Litwak, Kenneth Duncan. *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God's People Intertextually*. JSNTSup 282. London: T&T Clark, 2005.
- Llewellyn, S. R. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Vol. 9. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2002.
- Lomas, Kathryn, and Tim Cornell, eds., *Bread and Circuses: Energetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Longenecker, Bruce W. "Moral Character and Divine Generosity: Acts 13:13–52 and the Narrative Dynamics of Luke-Acts." Pages 141–64 in *New Testament Greek and Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Gerald F. Hawthorne*. Edited by Amy M. Donaldson and Timothy B. Sailors. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Longenecker, Richard N. *Acts*. Expositor's Bible Commentary 9. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1981.
- Lopez, Davina C. *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission*. Paul in Critical Contexts. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press 2008.
- Lüdemann, Gerd. *The Acts of the Apostles: What Really Happened in the Earliest Days of the Church*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary*. Translated by John Bowden. London: SCM, 1989.
- Luttwak, Edward. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- MacDonald, Dennis R. "Classical Greek Poetry and the Acts of the Apostles: Imitations of Euripides' *Bacchae*." Pages 463–96 in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*. Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. Text and Editions for New Testament Study 9. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Categorization of Antetextuality in the Gospels and Acts: A Case for Luke's Imitation of Plato and Xenophon to Depict Paul as a Christian Socrates." Pages 211–25 in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*. Edited by Thomas Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter. New Testament Monographs NTM 16. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006.

- Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- MacMullen, Ramsay. "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire." *The American Journal of Philology* 103, no. 3 (1982): 233–46.
- Paganism in the Roman Empire.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Enemies of the Roman Order.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Maddox, Robert L. *The Purpose of Luke-Acts.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1982.
- Acts.* Layman's Bible Book Commentary 19. Nashville: Broadman, 1979.
- Malina, Bruce J., and John J. Pilch. *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008.
- Manning, C. E. "Liberalitas: The Decline and Rehabilitation of a Virtue." *Greece and Rome* 32, no. 1 (1985): 73.
- Manolaraki, Eleni. "Political and Rhetorical Seascapes in Pliny's Panegyricus." *Classical Philology* 103, no. 4 (2008): 374–94.
- Marguerat, Daniel. *Paul in Acts and Paul in His Letters.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- "Paul after Paul: A (Hi)story of Reception." Pages 70–89 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters.* Edited by David P. Moessner, Daniel Marguerat, Mikael C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- ed. *Reception of Paulinism in Acts/Réception du paulinisme dans les Actes des apôtres.* Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 229. Louvain, Belgium: Peeters, 2009.
- "Paul Après Paul: Une Histoire De Réception," *NTS* 54, no. 3 (2008): 317–37.
- Les Actes des apôtres (1–12).* Commentaire du Nouveau Testament 5a. Geneva, Switzerland: Labor et Fides, 2007.
- "Saul's Conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26)." Pages 174–204 in *The First Christian Historian: Writing the "Acts of the Apostles."* Translated by Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery, and Richard Bauckham. SNTSMS 121. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- The First Christian Historian: Writing the "Acts of the Apostles."* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- "Voyages et Voyageurs Dans Le Livre Des Actes et La Culture Gréco-Romaine." *Revue D'histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 78, no. 1 (1998): 33–59.
- Marguerat, Daniel, and Emmanuelle Steffek. "Luc-Actes et la naissance du Dieu universel." *Études théologiques et religieuses* 87, no. 1 (2012): 35–56.
- Marshall, I. Howard. "Acts." Pages 513–606 in *Commentary on the New Testament's Use of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007.
- The Acts of the Apostles.* New Testament Guides. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Luke: Historian & Theologian.* 3rd ed. New Testament Profiles. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988.
- Acts: An Introduction and Commentary.* TNTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980.
- Marshall, I. Howard, and David Peterson, eds. *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998.

- Martin, Clarice J. "The Acts of the Apostles." Pages 763–99 in *Searching the Scriptures. Vol. 2*. Edited by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. New York: Crossroad, 1994.
- Martin, Francis, ed. *Acts. Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament 5*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2006.
- Martin, Ralph P., and Peter H. Davids, eds. *Dictionary of the Later New Testament & Its Developments*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997.
- Matson, David L. *Household Conversion Narratives in Acts: Pattern and Interpretation*. JSNTSup 123. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Mattern, Susan P. *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Matthews, Shelly. *Perfect Martyr: The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- "The Need for the Stoning of Stephen." Pages 124–39 in *Violence in the New Testament*. Edited by Shelly Matthews and E. Leigh Gibson. New York: T & T Clark, 2005.
- Mattingly, David J. *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Mattingly, Harold and Edward A. Syenham. *The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume II: Vespasian to Hadrian*. London: Spink and Son, 1968.
- McCabe, David R. *How to Kill Things with Words: Ananias and Sapphira under the Prophetic Speech-Act of Divine Judgment (Acts 4.32–5.11)*. LNTS 454. London: Continuum, 2011.
- McKnight, Scot, and Joseph B. Modica. *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2013.
- Mealand, David. "'After Not Many Days' in Acts 1.5 and Its Hellenistic Context." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 13, no. 42 (1991): 69–77.
- Meek, James A. *The Gentile Mission in Old Testament Citations in Acts: Text, Hermeneutic, and Purpose*. London: T&T Clark, 2008.
- Melbourne, Bertram L. "Acts 1:8 Re-Examined: Is Acts 8 Its Fulfillment?" *Journal of Religious Thought* 57/58, no. 2/1–2 (2005): 1–18.
- Menzies, Robert P. *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology: With Special Reference to Luke-Acts*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 54. Sheffield, UK: Journal for the Study of the New Testament, 1991.
- Meyers, Carol, Toni Craven, and Ross S. Kraemer, eds. *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Names and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books and the New Testament*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.
- Millar, Fergus. "Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome," in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Edited by Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Rome, the Greek World, and the East: Volume 2: Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome. Editors Hannah Cotton and Guy Rogers. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC–AD 337)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- The Roman Empire and Its Neighbours*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1968.
- Minnen, Peter van. "Paul the Roman Citizen." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 17, no. 56 (1995): 43–52.

- Mitchell, Alan C. "The Social Function of Friendship in Acts 2:44–47 and 4:32–37." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 111, no. 2 (1992): 255–72.
- Mitchell, Margaret M. "Homer in the New Testament?" *The Journal of Religion* 83, no. 2 (2003): 244–60.
- Mitchell, Stephen. "Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 91 (1987): 333–65.
- Moessner, David P. "Luke's 'Witness of Witnesses': Paul as Definer and Defender of the Tradition of the Apostles – 'from the Beginning'." Pages 117–47 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. Edited by David P. Moessner, Daniel Marguerat, Mikael C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- ""Completed End(s)ings' of Historiographical Narrative: Diodorus Siculus and the End(ing) of Acts." Pages 193–221 in *Die Apostelgeschichte Und Die Hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift Für Eckhard Plümacher Zu Seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter. Ancient Judaism, and Early Christianity AGJU 57. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- "Paul in Acts: Preacher of Eschatological Repentance to Israel." *New Testament Studies* 34, no. 1 (1988): 96–104.
- Moessner, David P., Daniel Marguerat, Mikael C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter, eds. *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- Moreland, Milton. "The Jerusalem Community in Acts: Mythmaking and the Socio-Rhetorical Functions of a Lukan Setting." Pages 285–310 in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*. Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele. SBLSymS 20. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- Morley, Neville. "Trajan's Engines." *Greece & Rome* 47, no. 2 (2000): 197–210.
- Mount, Christopher N., "Paul's Place in Early Christianity." Pages 90–115 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. Edited by David P. Moessner et al. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- Pauline Christianity: Luke-Acts and the Legacy of Paul*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 104. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Moxnes, Halvor. "'He Saw That the City Was Full of Idols' (Acts 17:16): Visualizing the World of the First Christians." Pages 107–31 in *Mighty Minorities? Minorities in Early Christianity, Positions and Strategies: Essays in Honour of Jacob Jervell on His 70th Birthday, 21 May 1995*. Edited by David Hellholm, Halvor Moxnes, and Turid Karlsen Seim. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995.
- "Patron–Client Relations and the New Community in Luke–Acts." *The Social World of Luke–Acts: Models for Interpretation*. Edited by Jerome Neyrey. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991.
- Moxon, John. "Peter's Halakhic Nightmare: The 'Animal' Vision of Acts 10:9–16 in Jewish and Graeco-Roman Perspective." PhD diss. Durham, NC: Durham University, 2011.
- Muñoz-Larrondo, Rubén. *A Postcolonial Reading of the Acts of the Apostles*. Vol. 147. Studies in Biblical Literature. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.
- "*Living in Two Worlds – a Postcolonial Reading of Acts of the Apostles*." Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 2008.



- Mussner, Franz. "Die idee der Apokatastasis in der Apostelgeschichte." Pages 293–306 in *Lex Tua Veritas*. Edited by Heinrich Gross and Franz Mussner. Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1961.
- Nasrallah, Laura. *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of Empire*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- "The Acts of the Apostles, Greek Cities, and Hadrian's Panhellenion." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127, no. 3 (2008): 533–66.
- Newman, Barclay M. *A Translator's Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles*. Helps for Translators 12. London: United Bible Societies, 1972.
- Newsom, Carol A., and Sharon H. Ringe, eds. *Women's Bible Commentary*. Expanded Edition. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998.
- Neyrey, Jerome H. "'Teaching You in Public and from House to House' (Acts 20.20): Unpacking a Cultural Stereotype." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 26, no. 1 (2003): 69–102.
- "Luke's Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts." Pages 251–82 in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*. Edited by Ben Witherington. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991.
- "Acts 17, Epicureans, and Theodicy: A Study in Stereotypes." Pages 118–34 in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*. Edited by David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990.
- Nicklas, Tobias, and Michael Tilly, eds. *The Book of Acts as Church History: Apostelgeschichte Als Kirchengeschichte: Text, Textual traditions, and Ancient Interpretations*. BZNW 120. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.
- Nicolet, Claude. *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*. Jerome Lectures 19. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Nicols, John. "Pliny and the Patronage of Communities." *Hermes* 108, no. 3 (1980): 365–85.
- Noreña, Carlos F. *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- "Self-Fashioning in the Panegyricus." *Pliny's Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- "The Social Economy of Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan." *American Journal of Philology* 128, no. 2 (2007): 239–77.
- "The Communication of the Emperor's Virtues." *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001): 146–68.
- Nuffelen, Peter van. *Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Nünnerich-Asmus, Annette, ed. *Trajan. Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2002.
- "Er baute für das Volk?! Die stadtrömischen Bauten des Traian." Pages 97–124 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- O'Collins, Gerald and Gilberto Marconi, eds. *Luke and Acts*. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. New York: Paulist Press, 1993.

- O'Day, Gail R. "Acts." Pages 394–402 in *Women's Bible Commentary*. Edited by Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998.
- Oden Jr., R. A. "Philo of Byblos and Hellenistic Historiography." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 110 (1978): 115–26.
- O'Neill, J. C. *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1961.
- Osiek, Carolyn. "The Politics of Patronage and the Politics of Kinship: The Meeting of the Ways." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 39, no. 3 (2009): 143–52.
- Oster, Richard. "Acts 19:23–41 and an Ephesian Inscription." *The Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 2 (1984): 233–37.
- "Christianity and Emperor Veneration in Ephesus: Iconography of a Conflict." *Restoration Quarterly* 25 (1982): 143–49.
- O'Toole, Robert F. "Reflections on Luke's Treatment of Jews in Luke-Acts." *Biblica* 74 (1993): 529–55.
- The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts*. Good News Studies 9. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1984.
- Packer, James E. *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments in Brief*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- "Trajan's Glorious Forum." *Archaeology* 51, no. 1 (1998): 32–41.
- The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- "Report from Rome: The Imperial Fora, a Retrospective." *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, no. 2 (1997): 307–30.
- Palmer, Darryl W. "Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph." Pages 1–29 in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*. Edited by Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 1. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993.
- "Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century." *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 3 (1983): 234–59.
- Pao, David W. *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*. WUNT 138. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Parsons, Mikeal C. *Acts*. Paideia. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Luke: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007.
- Parsons, Mikeal C., and Martin M. Culy. *Acts: A Handbook on the Greek Text*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2003.
- Parsons, Mikeal C., and Richard I. Pervo, eds. *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Parsons, Mikeal C., and Joseph B. Tyson, eds. *Cadbury, Knox, and Talbert: American Contributions to the Study of Acts*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992.
- Penner, Todd C. *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography*. Emory Studies in Early Christianity. New York: T & T Clark, 2004.
- "Maddness in the Method: The Acts of the Apostles in Current Study." *Currents in Biblical Research* 2, no. 2 (2004): 223–93.
- "Civilizing Discourse: Acts, Declamation, and the Rhetoric of the Polis." Pages 65–104 in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*. Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series no. 20. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.

- Penner, Todd C., and Caroline Vander Stichele, eds. *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series no. 20. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- Peppard, Michael. *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship in Its Social and Political Context*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Perkins, Judith. *Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era*. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies; New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Perry, Alfred M. "Acts and the Roman Trial of Paul." *The Harvard Theological Review* 17, no. 2 (1924): 195–96.
- Pervo, Richard I. "(Not) 'Appealing to the Emperor': Acts (and the Acts of Paul)." Pages 165–79 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. Edited by David P. Moessner, Daniel Marguerat, Mikael C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- "Dying and Rising with Paul." *FourR* 23, no. 1 (2010): 3–8.
- Acts: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2009.
- The Mystery of Acts: Unraveling Its Story*. Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2008.
- Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists*. Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2006.
- "The Gates Have Been Closed (Acts 21:30): The Jews in Acts." *Journal of Higher Criticism* 11.2 (2005): 128–49.
- Luke's Story of Paul*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990.
- Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.
- Pesch, Rudolf. *Die Apostelgeschichte (Apg. 1–12)*. EKKNT 5.1. Zürich: Benziger, 1986.
- Peterson, David G. *The Acts of the Apostles*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009.
- Petterson, Christine. *Acts of Empire: The Acts of the Apostles and Imperial Ideology*. Chung Li, Taiwan: Chung Yuan Christian University, 2012.
- Petzl, Georg. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* 2, 1. Bonn: Habelt, 1987.
- Phillips, Thomas E. *Paul, His Letters, and Acts*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009.
- "The Genre of Acts: Moving Toward a Consensus?" *Currents in Biblical Research* 4, no. 3 (2006): 365–96.
- ed. *Acts and Ethics*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005.
- Pilch, John J. *Visions and Healing in the Acts of the Apostles: How the Early Believers Experienced God*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2004.
- Pliny. *Letters and Panegyricus*. Loeb Classical Library. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1969.
- Plümacher, Eckhard. "Luke as Historian." Pages 398–402 in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 4. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- "Die Apostelgeschichte Als Historische Monographie." Pages 457–66 in *Les Actes Des Apôtres: Traditions, Rédaction, Théologie*. Edited by Jacob Kremer. BETL 48. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979.
- Lukas Als Hellenistischer Schriftsteller; Studien Zur Apostelgeschichte*. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.
- Porter, Stanley E. *Paul in Acts*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001.
- The Paul of Acts: Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 115. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.

- Porter, Stanley E., and Andrew W. Pitts, eds. *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*. Text and Editions for New Testament Study 9. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Powell, Mark Allan. *What Are They Saying about Acts?* New York: Paulist, 1991.
- Praeder, Susan M. "Luke-Acts and the Ancient Novel." Pages 269–92 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1981*. SBLSP 20. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981.
- "Acts 27:1–28:16: Sea Voyages in Ancient Literature and the Theology of Luke-Acts." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (1984): 683–706.
- Price, Robert M. *The Widow Traditions in Luke-Acts: A Feminist-Critical Scrutiny*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997.
- Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam. "The Uprisings in the Jewish Diaspora." Pages 93–104 in *Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume 4. The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Edited by Steven Katz. New York: Cambridge, 2006.
- Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117 CE. Ancient Sources and Modern Insights. Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion*. Dudley: Peeters, 2005.
- "Greek Attacks against Alexandrian Jews during Emperor Trajan's Reign." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 20, no. 1 (1989): 31–48.
- Puskas, Charles B. *The Conclusion of Luke-Acts: The Significance of Acts 28:16–31*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009.
- Putnam, Michael C. *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Rapske, Brian, ed. *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody. The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting* 3. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Rastoin, Mark. "Les conséquences culturelles et religieuses de la 'guerre de Quietus' (115–117), quelques réflexions sur une révolte négligée." *Istina* 4 (2006): 421–30.
- Ravens, David. *Luke and the Restoration of Israel. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 119. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Rees, Roger. "To Be and Not to Be: Pliny's Paradoxical Trajan." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 45, no. 1 (2001): 149–68.
- Reichert, Angelina. "Durchdachte Konfusion: Plinius, Trajan und das Christentum." *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 93, no. 3 (2002): 227–50.
- Reid, Barbara E. "The Power of the Widows and How to Suppress It (Acts 6.1–7)." Pages 71–88 in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles*. Edited by Amy-Jill Levine with Marianne Blickenstaff. New York: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Reimer, Ivoni Richter. *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995.
- Rensberger, David. "Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John." Pages 120–75 in *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*. Edited by William R. Farmer. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Reynolds, Joyce Marie, and Robert Tannenbaum. *Jews and God-Fearers at Aphrodisias. Cambridge Philological Society Supplement* 12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Rhoads, David, David Esterline, and Jae Won Lee, eds. *Luke-Acts and Empire: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Brawley*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 151. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011.

- Richard, Earl, ed. *New Views on Luke and Acts*. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990.
- Richardson, John. *The Language of Empire: Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- “Imperium Romanum between Republic and Empire.” *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, C. 200 B.C.–A.D. 476)*, Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20–23, 2002. Edited by Lukas De Blois, Paul Erdkamp, Olivier Hekster, Gerda De Kleijn, and Stephan Mols. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Richardson, Lawrence. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Richardson, Peter, and David Granskou, eds. *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*. Vol. 1 *Paul and the Gospels*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986.
- Richter, Danae. *Das römische Heer auf der Trajanssäule: Waffen und Ausrüstung: Marsch, Arbeit und Kampf*. Mentor: Studien zu Metalarbeiten und Toreutik der Antike und Zyperns Herausgegeben von Reinhard Stupperich und Richard Petrovsky Band 3. Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2014.
- Rius-Camps, Josep, and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger. *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition*. Vol. 1, *Acts 1.1–5.42: Jerusalem*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 257. London: T&T Clark International, 2004.
- Rives, James B. *Religion in the Roman Empire*. Blackwell Ancient Religions. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007.
- Rives, James. “Graeco-Roman Religion in the Roman Empire: Old Assumptions and New Approaches.” *Currents in Biblical Research* 8, no. 2 (2010): 240–99.
- Robbins, Vernon K. “The Claims of the Prologues and Greco-Roman Rhetoric: The Prefaces to Luke and Acts in Light of Greco-Roman Rhetorical Strategies.” Pages 63–83 in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke’s Narrative Claim Upon Israel’s Legacy*. Edited by David P. Moessner. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1999.
- The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society, and Ideology*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- “Luke-Acts: A Mixed Population Seeks a Home in the Roman Empire.” Pages 202–21 in *Images of Empire*. Edited by Loveday Alexander. JSOTSup 122. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- Roche, Paul A. *Pliny’s Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- “Pliny’s Thanksgiving: An Introduction to the *Panegyricus*.” Pages 1–28 in *Pliny’s Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World*. Edited by Paul Roche. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- “The *Panegyricus* and the monuments of Rome.” Pages 45–66 in *Pliny’s Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World*. Edited by Paul Roche. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Rosenblatt, Marie Eloise. *Paul the Accused: His Portrait in the Acts of the Apostles*. Zacchaeus Studies. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1995.
- Rosner, Brian S. “Acts and Biblical History.” Pages 65–82 in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*. Edited by Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke; vol. 1; *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993.

- Rothschild, C. K. *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History: An Investigation of Early Christian Historiography*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, Reihe 175. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Rowe, C. Kavin. *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- “Literary Unity and Reception History: Reading Luke-Acts as Luke and Acts.” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29 (2007): 449–57.
- “Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult: A Way through the Conundrum?” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27, no. 3 (2005): 279–300.
- “History, Hermeneutics, and the Unity of Luke-Acts.” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28 (2005): 131–57.
- Ruether, Rosemary Radford, ed. *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974.
- Rüpke, Jörg. *The Religion of the Romans*. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. “Interpretation of Luke-Acts and Implications for Jewish–Christian Dialogue.” *Word & World* 12/1 (1992): 37–42.
- Saller, Richard P. *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Salmeri, Giovanni, “Central Power Intervention and the Economy of the Provinces in the Roman Empire: the Case of Pontus and Bithynia.” Pages 187–206 in *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Constantina Katsari. Ceredigion, Wales: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005.
- Salmon, Marilyn “Insider or Outsider? Luke’s Relationship with Judaism.” Pages 76–82 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Joseph B. Tyson. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1988.
- Sanders, E. P. “Reflections on Anti-Judaism in the New Testament and in Christianity.” Pages 265–86 in *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*. Edited by William R. Farmer. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Sanders, Jack T. “Who Is a Jew and Who Is a Gentile in the Book of Acts?” *New Testament Studies* 37, no. 3 (1991): 434–55.
- The Jews in Luke-Acts*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.
- “The Jewish People in Luke-Acts.” Pages 51–75 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Joseph B. Tyson. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1988.
- Sartre, Maurice. *The Middle East under Rome*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Satlow, Michael L., ed. *The Gift in Antiquity*. The Ancient World: Comparative Histories. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
- Savelle, Charles H. “A Reexamination of the Prohibitions in Acts 15.” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 161 (2004): 449–68.
- Schäfer, Peter. *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Schille, Gottfried. *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament 5. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1983.
- Schmidt, Daryl D. “Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of Luke.” Pages 63–119 in *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*. Edited by William R. Farmer. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.

- Schmidt, Thomas S. "Plutarch's Timeless Barbarians and the Age of Trajan." Pages 57–71 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.)*. Edited by Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- Schmithals, Walter. *Die Apostelgeschichte Des Lukas*. Zürcher Bibelkommentare 3.2. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1982.
- Schnabel, Eckhard J. "Jewish Opposition to Christians in Asia Minor in the First Century." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 18, no. 2 (2008): 233–70.
- Schneider, Gerhard. *Apostelgeschichte*. 2 vols. HTKNT 5. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1980.
- Scholl, Norbert. *Lukas und Seine Apostelgeschichte: Die Verbreitung Des Glaubens*. Darmstadt: WBG, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007.
- Schotroff, Luise. *Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament*. Translated by Annemarie S. Kidder. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993.
- Schowalter, Daniel N. *The Emperor and the Gods: Images from the Time of Trajan*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Schröter, Jens. "Heil für die Heiden und Israel: zum Zusammenhang von Christologie und Volk Gottes bei Lukas." Pages 285–308 in *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift für Eckhard Plümacher zu seinem 65*. Edited by Cilliers Breytenbach and Jens Schröter. Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Schwartz, Robert L. Review of Robert L. Brawley, "Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 80.3 (1990): 427–429.
- Scott, James M. "Acts 2:9–11 As an Anticipation of the Mission to the Nations." *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles*. Edited by Jostein Adna and Hans Kvalbein. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament WUNT 127. Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- "Luke's Geographical Horizon." Pages 483–544 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. Edited by David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Scott, Sarah. "Provincial Art and Roman Imperialism: An Overview." Pages 1–7 in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. Edited by Sarah Scott and Jane Webster. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Scott, Sarah and Jane Webster. "Preface." Pages xiii–xiv in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. Edited by Sarah Scott and Jane Webster. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Seelentag, Gunnar. "Imperial Representation and Reciprocity: The Case of Trajan." *Classical J. Classical Journal* 107, no. 1 (2011): 73–97.
- Taten Und Tugenden Traians: Herrschaftsdarstellung Im Principat*. Hermes Bd. 91. München: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 2004.
- Seim, Turid Karlsen. *Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke and Acts*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994.
- Serban, Marko. "Trajan's Bridge over the Danube." *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 38, no. 2 (2009): 331–42.
- Settis, Salvatore, Adriano La Regina, Giovanni Agosti, and Vincenzo Farinella, eds. *La Colonna Traiana*. Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1988.



- Sevenster, Jan Nicolaas. *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.
- Shelton, James B. *Mighty in Word and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991.
- Shepherd, William H. *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 147. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994.
- Sherwin-White, A. N. *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.
- Shillington, V. George. *An Introduction to the Study of Luke-Acts*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2007.
- Shochat, Yanir. "The Change in the Roman Religion at the Time of the Emperor Trajan." *Lato Latomus* 44, no. 2 (1985): 317–36.
- Shotter, D. C. A. "The Principate of Nerva: Some Observations on the Coin Evidence." *Historia* 32 (1983): 218–20.
- Shulam, Joseph. *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Acts*. Jerusalem: Academion, 2003.
- Skinner, Matthew L. "Unchained Ministry: Paul's Roman Custody (Acts 21–28) and the Sociopolitical Outlook of the Book of Acts." Pages 79–95 in *Acts and Ethics*. Edited by Thomas E. Phillips. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005.
- Locating Paul: *Places of Custody as Narrative Settings in Acts 21–28*. SBL Academia Biblica 13. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Sleeman, Matthew. *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts*. SNTSMS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- "The Vision of Acts: World Right Way Up." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 33, no. 3 (2011): 327–33.
- Slingerland, Dixon. "'The Jews' in the Pauline Portion of Acts." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54, no. 2 (1986): 305–21.
- Smallwood, E. Mary. *The Jews Under Roman Rule, From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations (Vol. 20)*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Smith, David E. *The Canonical Function of Acts: A Comparative Analysis*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2002.
- Smith, Dennis E., and Joseph B. Tyson, eds., *Acts and Christian Beginnings: The Acts Seminar Report*. Salem, OR: Polebridge Press, 2013.
- Smith, Mitzi J. *The Literary Construction of the Other in the Acts of the Apostles: Charismatics, the Jews, and Women*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2011.
- Smith, Riggs Alden. *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Smith, R. R. R. "The Use of Images: Visual History and Ancient History." Pages 59–102 in *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*. Edited by T. P. Wiseman. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Snowden, Frank M. *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Soards, Marion L. *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994.
- Speidel, Michael Alexander. "Bellicosissimus Princeps." Pages 23–40 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.

- Spencer, F. Scott. *Journeying through Acts: A Literary-Cultural Reading*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004.
- Acts*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992.
- Squire, Michael. *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Stadter, Philip A. "Pliny and the Ideology of Empire: The Correspondence with Trajan." *Prometheus* 32, (2006), 61–76.
- "Introduction: Setting Plutarch in His Context" Pages 2–26 in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan, 98–117 A.D.* Edited by Philip A. Stadter and Luc Ven der Stockt. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- Staley, Jeffrey L. "Changing Woman: Postcolonial Reflections on Acts 16.6–40." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 21, no. 73 (1999): 113–35.
- Stamper, John W. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. *The Woman's Bible: A Classic Feminist Perspective*. Reprint of the original published in two volumes by the European Publishing Company, New York, in 1895 and 1898. New York: Dover Publications, 2002.
- Stegemann, Wolfgang. *Zwischen Synagoge Und Obrigkeit: Zur Historischen Situation Der Lukanischen Christen*. FRLANT 152. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1991.
- Stenschke, Christoph W. *Luke's Portrait of the Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith*. WUNT 108. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- Stephenson, John W. "The Column of Trajan in the Light of Ancient Cartography and Geography." *Journal of Historical Geography* 40 (2013): 79–93.
- Sterck-Deguelde, Jean-Pierre. *Eine Frau Namens Lydia: Zu Geschichte Und Komposition in Apostelgeschichte 16,11–15.40*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 176. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Sterling, Gregory E. "From Apostle to the Gentiles to Apostle of the Church: Images of Paul at the End of the First Century." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 99, no. 1 (2008): 74–98.
- Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Sterling, Gregory E. "From the 'Least of All the Saints' to the 'Apostle of Jesus Christ': The Transformation of Paul in the First Century." Pages 220–47 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim Upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*. Edited by David P. Moessner, Daniel Marguerat, Mikael C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter. LNTS 452. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- "From Apostle to the Gentiles to Apostle of the Church: Images of Paul at the End of the First Century." *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Und Die Kunde Der Älteren Kirche* 99, no. 1 (2008): 74–98.
- Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum v. 64. New York: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Stichele, Caroline Vander and Todd Penner. *Contextualizing Gender in Early Christian Discourse: Thinking Beyond Thecla*. New York: T&T Clark, 2009.

- Still, Todd D. *Conflict at Thessalonica: A Pauline Church and Its Neighbours*. JSNTSup 183. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Stoops Jr., Robert F. "Riot and Assembly: The Social Context of Acts 19:23–41." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108, no. 1 (1989): 73–91.
- Strange, W. A. *The Problem of the Text of Acts*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 71. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Strauss, Stephen J. "The Purpose of Acts and the Mission of God." *The Bibliotheca Sacra* 169, no. 676 (2012): 443–64.
- Strelan, Rick. *Strange Acts: Studies in the Cultural World of the Acts of the Apostles*. BZNW 126. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.
- Paul, *Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus*. BZNW 80. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996.
- Sugirtharajah, R. S. *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Swain, Simon. *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Tacitus. *The Histories*. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Takaya, Hosaka. "Die Christenpolitik des Jüngerer Plinius." *Annual of the Japanese Bible Institute* 12, (1986): 87–125.
- Talbert, Charles H. *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. Rev. ed. Macon, GA: Smyth and Helwys, 2005.
- "Once Again: The Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts." Pages 161–73 in *Reading Luke-Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu*. Edited by Charles H. Talbert. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- "A Theology of Sea Storms in Luke-Acts." Pages 321–36 in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1995*. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers SBLSP 34. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995.
- "Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles: The Pattern of Paul's Mission in Acts." In *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Joseph B. Tyson. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1988.
- Acts*. Knox Preaching Guides. Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1984.
- ed. *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the SBL Seminar*. New York: Crossroads, 1984.
- ed. *Perspectives in Luke-Acts*. Danville, VA, 1978.
- Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*. Society of Biblical Literature 20. Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1975.
- Tannehill, Robert C. "Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2007): 827–28.
- The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*. Vol. 2, *The Acts of the Apostles*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990.
- "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104 (1985): 69–85.
- Thill, Elizabeth Wolfram. "Civilization under Construction: Depictions of Architecture on the Column of Trajan." *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, no. 1 (2010): 27–43.
- Thomas, Edmund. *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Thompson, Alan J. *One Lord, One People: The Unity of the Church in Acts in Its Literary Setting*. LNTS 359. London: T&T Clark, 2008.
- Thompson, Michael B. "Paul in the Book of Acts: Differences and Distance." *Expository Times* 122, no. 9 (2011): 425–36.

- Thompson, R. P. "What Do You Think You Are Doing, Paul?" "Synagogues, Accusations, and Ethics in Paul's Ministry in Acts 16–21." Pages 64–78 in *Acts and Ethics*. Edited by Thomas E. Phillips. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005, 64–78.
- "Luke-Acts: The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles." Pages 319–43 in *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament*. Edited by David E. Aune. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Thompson, Richard P. and Thomas E. Phillips, eds. *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1998.
- Thornton, Claus-Jürgen. *Der Zeuge Des Zeugen: Lukas Als Historiker Der Paulusreisen*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 56. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991.
- Tiede, David L. "'Glory to thy people Israel': Luke-Acts and the Jews." in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Joseph B. Tyson. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1988.
- "Acts 1:6–8 and the Theo-Political Claims of Christian Witness." *Word & World* 1, no. 1 (1981): 41–51.
- Tomes, Roger. "Why Did Paul Get His Hair Cut? (Acts 18.18; 21.23–24)." Pages 188–97 in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays*. Edited by C. M. Tuckett. JSNTSup 116. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Torelli, Mario. *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Tourville, Robert E. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Verse-by-Verse Commentary from the Classical Pentecostal Perspective*. New Wilmington, PA: House of Bon Giovanni, 1983.
- Trebilco, Paul R. "Asia." Pages 291–362 in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. Edited by David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Trutty-Cooill, Patricia. "On Generosity East and West: The Beauty of Comparison." Pages 17–32 in *Sharing Poetic Expressions: Beauty, Sublime, Mysticism in Islamic and Occidental Culture*. Edited by Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka. New York: Springer, 2011.
- Tucker, J. Brian. "God-Fearers: Literary Foil or Historical Reality in the Book of Acts." *Journal of Biblical Studies* 5, no. 1 (2005): 21–39.
- Tuckett, Christopher M. *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*. Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1999.
- "Anti-Judaism in the Critical Study of the Gospels." Pages 216–58 in *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*. Edited by William R. Farmer. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Luke*. New Testament Guides. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- ed. *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays. Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Supplement 116. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Tyson, Joseph B. *Marion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke-Acts*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.
- "Jews and Judaism in Luke-Acts: Reading as a Godfearer." *New Testament Studies* 41, no. 1 (1995): 19–38.
- Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992.

- "The Problem of Jewish Rejection in Acts." Pages 124–37 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Joseph B. Tyson. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988.
- ed. *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988.
- Ulrich, Jörg, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, and Maijastina Kahlos, eds., *Continuity and Discontinuity in Early Christian Apologetics*. Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity v. 5. New York: Lang, 2009.
- Verheyden, Jozef, ed. *The Unity of Luke-Acts*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 142. Louvain, Belgium: Louvain University Press, 1999.
- Veyne, Paul. "What Was a Roman Emperor? Emperor, Therefore a God." *Diogenes* no. 199 (2003): 3–22.
- The Roman Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*. London: Penguin, 1992.
- Vielhauer, Philipp. "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts." Pages 33–49 in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*. Edited by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn. London: SPCK, 1968.
- Von Dippé, Roger David. "*The Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative in Roman Art, 300 B.C.–A.D. 200*." PhD diss. Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California, 2007.
- Voto, Bernard Augustine de. *The Literary Fallacy*. The Patten Lectures 1944. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1969.
- Wagner, C. Peter. *Acts of the Holy Spirit*. Ventura, CA: Regal, 2008.
- Walaskay, Paul W. *And So We Came to Rome: The Political Perspective of St. Luke*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 49. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Acts*. Westminster Bible Companion. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998.
- Walker, W. O. "Acts and the Pauline Corpus Reconsidered." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 24 (1985): 3–23.
- Wall, Robert W. "Acts." Pages 1–368 in *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. 10. Edited by Leander Keck. Nashville: Abingdon, 2002.
- "The Acts of the Apostles: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections." *New Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. 10. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- "Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, v. 1. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986): 66–87.
- "Civis Princeps: Between Citizen and King." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982): 32–48.
- "The Golden Age and Sin in Augustan Ideology." *Past & Present*, no. 95 (1982): 19–36.
- Walters, Patricia. *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts: A Reassessment of the Evidence*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 145. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Walton, Steve. "Primitive Communism in Acts? Does Acts Present the Community of Goods (2:44–45; 4:32–35) as Mistaken?" *Evangelical Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2008): 99–111.

- "The State they were In: Luke's View of the Roman Empire." In *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church*. Edited by Peter Oakes. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002.
- Leadership and Lifestyle: The Portrait of Paul in the Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Wasserberg, Günter. *Aus Israels Mitte – Heil für die Welt: Eine narrativ-exegetische Studie zur Theologie des Lukas*. BZNW 92; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998.
- Waters, K. H. "Trajan's Character in the Literary Tradition." In *Polis and Imperium: Studies in Honour of Edward Togo Salmon*. Edited by J. A. S. Evans. Toronto: A. M. Hakkert Ltd., 1974.
- "The Reign of Trajan and its Place in Contemporary Scholarship." Pages 381–430 in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.
- Watson, Duane F. *Miracle Discourse in the New Testament*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012.
- Weatherly, Jon A. "The Jews in Luke-Acts." *Tyndale Bulletin* 40.1 (1989): 107–17.
- Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts*. JSNTSup 106. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.
- Weiser, Alfons. *Die Apostelgeschichte*. 2 vols. Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament 5.1–2. Gutersloh, Germany: Mohn, 1981–85.
- Weiser, Wolfram. "Kaiserliche Publizistik in Kleinformat: Die Münzen der Epoche des Kaiser Traian." Pages 145–162 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus; Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- Wells, Collin M. *The Roman Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984.
- Wenkel, D. "From Saul to Paul: The Apostle's Name Change and Narrative Identity in Acts 13:9." *The Asbury Theological Journal*. 66, no. 2 (2011): 67–76.
- Westfall, Cynthia Long and Stanley E. Porter. *Empire in the New Testament*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011.
- White, E. G. *The Acts of the Apostles*. History of Redemption 6. Seoul, Korea: Everlasting Gospel Publication Associates, 2001.
- Whitmarsh, Tim. *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Whittaker, Molly. *Jews and Christians: Graeco-Roman Views*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Wickhoff, Franz. *Roman Art: Some of its Principles and their Application to Early Christian Painting*. Translated and edited by Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.
- Wiest, S. R. "A Propaedeutic from the Bacchae of Euripides for Interpreting Luke's Stephen-Section (Acts 6: 1–8:4)." *Cygnifiliana: Essays in Classics, Comparative Literature, and Philosophy Presented to Professor Roy Arthur Swanson on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by Chad Matthew Schroeder. New York: Peter Lang, 2005.
- Williams, David John. *Acts*. New International Biblical Commentary 5. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1990.
- Williams, Margaret. *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook*. New York: Duckworth, 1998.
- Williams, Wynne. *Correspondence with Trajan from Bithynia (Epistles X)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990.
- Wills, Lawrence M. "The Depiction of the Jews in Acts." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110, No. 4 (1991): 631–54.

- Wilson, Brittany E. *Unmanly Men: Refigurations of Masculinity in Luke-Acts*. New York: Oxford, 2015.
- Wilson Jones, Mark. *Principles of Roman Architecture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- “One Hundred Feet and a Spiral Stair: the Problem of Designing Trajan’s Column.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 23–38.
- Wilson, Stephen. *Related Strangers: Jews and Christians 70C.E.-170C.E.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995.
- “The Jews and the Death of Jesus in Acts.” Pages 1. 155–64 in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*. Vol. 1 Paul and the Gospels. Edited by Peter Richardson and David Granskou. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986.
- The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts*. SNTSMS 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Winter, Bruce W. “Gallio’s Ruling on the Legal Status of Early Christianity (Acts 18:14–15).” *Tyndale Bulletin* 50 (1999): 213–24.
- Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens*. First-Century Christians in the Graeco-Roman World. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Winter, Bruce W., and Andrew D. Clarke, eds. *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*. Vol. 1. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993.
- Winter, Irene J. *On Art in the Ancient Near East Vol. I*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- “After the Battle is Over: The Stele of the Vultures and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East.” In *On the Art in the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Irene Winter, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, v. 34; Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Wiseman, T. P. *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*. New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Witherington, Ben, ed. *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- ed. “Luke’s Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts.” In *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Carlisle, 1998.
- Wolfram Thill, E. “Depicting Barbarism on Fire: Architectural Destruction on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (2011): 283–312.
- Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- “Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996): 22–39.
- Wright, N. T. *The New Testament and the People of God*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Yamazaki-Ransom, Kazuhiko. *The Roman Empire in Luke’s Narrative*. Library of New Testament Studies 404. New York: T & T Clark, 2010.
- Yavetz, Zvi. “Judeophobia in Classical Antiquity. A Different Approach.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 1–22.
- Yegül, Fikret K. *Bathing in the Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.



- Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: Architectural History Foundation; MIT Press, 1992.
- Yoder, Joshua P. "Representatives of Roman Rule: Roman Governors in Luke-Acts." Diss., Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University, 2012.
- Young, Frances M. *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Zahrnt, Michael. "urbanitas gleich romanitas Die Städtepolitik des Kaisers Traian." Pages 51–72 in *Traian: Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Edited by Annette Nünnerich-Asmus. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002.
- Zanker, Paul. "By the Emperor, for the People: 'Popular' Architecture in Rome." Pages 45–88 in *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*. Edited by Björn Christian Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- "Preface." Pages VII–VIII in Filippo Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*. Translated by Cynthia Rockwell. Rome: Colombo, 2000.
- The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.
- "Das Trajansforum." *AA* 85 (1970): 499–544.
- Zanker, Paul, and Henry Heitmann-Gordon. *Roman Art*. Los Angeles, CA: Brighton, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012.
- Zhang, Wenxi. *Paul Among Jews: A Study of the Meaning and Significance of Paul's Inaugural Sermon in the Synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:16–41) for His Missionary Work among the Jews*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.
- Zuiderhoek, Arjan. "The Ambiguity of Munificence." *Histzeitliche Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56, no. 2 (2007): 196–213.
- The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites, and Benefactors in Asia Minor*. Greek Culture in the Roman World. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## INDEX

- Achaia, 5, 125, 139, 201  
 Achilles Tatius, 24  
*adlocutio*, 31, 128  
 Aelius Aristides, 126  
 Aeneas, 123  
 Agabus, 169  
 Agrippa, 5, 77, 114, 130, 168  
 Alexandria, 47  
 altar, 182, 183  
 ambivalence, 8, 9, 24, 96, 135, 141  
*amicitia*, 59  
 amphitheater, ix, 32, 42, 77  
 Ananias, 96, 97, 167, 188, 209  
 angel, 115, 116, 136, 165  
 anger, 148  
 Anna, 64, 165, 221  
*annona*, 65  
 Anti-Jewish Propaganda, viii, 15, 132, 147, 149,  
     150, 157, 158, 161, 162  
 Antioch of Pisidia, 143  
 anti-Roman, 5, 6, 7, 8  
 Antonine, 23, 78, 173, 220  
 Apollodorus of Damascus, 42, 78  
 apologetic, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 49, 100, 121, 132,  
     162, 172  
 apostle, 41, 43, 113, 167, 168  
*apotheosis*, 90, 125  
 Aquilla, 167  
 Arabia, 125  
 Aramaic, 188  
 arch, 81, 84, 85, 151, 154  
 Arch of Titus, 151, 152  
 armor, 31, 81, 128  
 Asia Minor, 10, 15, 53, 55, 68, 69, 70, 91, 122,  
     144, 195, 214, 216, 217, 225  
 Asiarchs, 5, 112, 204  
 assimilation, 9  
 Athens, viii, 127, 128, 139  
 Augustus, 4, 7, 9, 10, 36, 39, 51, 55, 56, 61, 66, 68,  
     77, 79, 80, 81, 85, 108, 123, 125, 127, 144, 150,  
     157, 176, 205, 206, 222, 225  
 auxiliary, ix, 28, 31, 32, 35, 63, 128  
 balcony, 28, 83  
 Bar Kokhba, 151, 152, 202  
 barbarian, 85, 150, 155, 159, 161, 177, 184  
*barbaricum*, 31  
 barge, 117  
 Bar-Jesus, 98, 100, 137  
 Barnabas, 47, 97, 98, 99, 103, 106, 107, 110, 137,  
     138, 143, 157, 167  
 basilica, 78, 80, 81, 84, 120  
 Baths of Trajan, 76, 78  
 beard, 32  
 benefaction, 60, 61, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 92, 93, 94, 104,  
     105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 119, 120, 122, 126, 127, 131  
 benevolence, 65, 87, 107, 110, 113, 121, 127  
 Benjamin, 98, 139, 146, 203, 204  
 Bernice, 114, 168, 172  
 Beroea, viii, 139  
 blind, 10, 16, 164, 186  
 boat, ix, 32, 115, 177, 178, 182, 183  
*bonus*, 57  
 book, i, xii, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 14, 24, 27, 36, 49, 52, 74,  
     89, 108, 141, 148, 157, 158, 161, 162, 173, 174,  
     175, 189, 190  
 border, 83  
 bribery, 65  
 bridge, 1, 41, 78, 108, 117  
 Britons, 148, 155  
 broker, 74, 93, 94, 104, 105, 116, 119, 122  
 brushwood, 117

- Bucoli, 155  
 bull, 84, 182  
 burial, 28, 36, 165
- Caesar, 3, 4, 36, 61, 79, 84, 123, 125, 209  
 Caligula, 10, 77  
 captivity, 32  
 cargo, 115  
 Cassius Dio, 45, 61, 78, 125, 150, 151, 155, 156  
 cavalry, 35, 128, 156, 159, 177  
 cave, 179  
 centurion, 5, 6, 93, 115, 116, 120  
 charioteer, 81, 82  
 Chariton, 48  
 children, x, 67, 148, 159, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184  
 Cicero, 39, 49, 144  
 circumcision, 134, 144, 148, 149, 162  
 Circus Maximus, 61, 151  
*civilis princeps*, 57, 60  
 civilization, 28, 76, 85, 119, 130, 148, 158, 159, 180, 182, 184  
*clementia*, 179  
 Clitophon, 24  
 coast, 115  
 coin, 26, 60, 152, 165, 218  
 Colosseum, 77, 151  
 Column of Marcus Aurelius, 24, 28, 47, 176, 194, 200  
 Column of Trajan, vii, viii, ix, 14, 16, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 62, 78, 82, 84, 101, 114, 117, 128, 130, 155, 158, 164, 175, 176, 187, 196, 197, 204, 205, 219, 220, 225  
 conquered, 7, 76, 155, 176, 177  
 conquest, 1, 31, 38, 76, 156, 161, 180, 182  
 consul, 36, 61  
 continuous narrative, 14, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 52  
*copiae*, 65  
 Corinth, viii, 139  
 Corinthians, 12, 139, 168, 170  
 Cornelius, 6, 93, 162, 200  
 courage, 115, 161, 186  
 courtyard, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85  
 Cretans, 47  
 criminal, 6  
 crippled, 103, 165  
 Crispus, 139, 171  
 cure, 103  
 customs, 145, 146, 147, 150, 162  
 Cyprus, viii, 4, 47, 88, 98, 101, 102, 137, 153, 156  
 Cyrene, 125, 156
- Dacian, ix, x, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, 45, 62, 63, 76, 78, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 114, 117, 125, 129, 155, 159, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185  
 Dacian War, 181  
*dais*, 31  
 Damaris, 167  
 Damascus, viii, 49, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 136, 206  
*damnatio memoriae*, 81, 153  
 Danube, ix, 31, 32, 42, 75, 78, 217  
 Danuvius, ix, 31, 32, 47  
 dating, 12, 13, 14, 27, 45, 55, 155, 173  
 daughter, 165  
 death, 28, 31, 32, 68, 79, 81, 83, 95, 114, 126, 127, 141, 144, 151, 152, 154, 156, 166, 167, 168, 179  
 Decebalus, 35, 76, 159  
 deity, 91, 110, 113, 120  
 Diaspora, 99, 132, 136, 137, 140, 141, 147, 150, 153, 155, 162, 203, 207, 214  
 dignitary, 120  
 Dio Chrysostom, 11, 122, 204  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 123  
 dirt, 32, 63  
 disabled, 103, 106  
 disciple, 171  
 distinct literary production, 1  
 documentary, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 187  
 Domitian, 13, 54, 67, 68, 77, 79, 81, 123, 124, 151, 152, 153, 200  
 Domus Aurea, 77  
 Domus Flavia, 124  
 drown, 177  
 Drusilla, 168, 172  
 dysentery, 117
- Egypt, 65, 80, 104, 145, 147, 153, 155, 156  
 Egyptians, 47, 147, 148  
 Elizabeth, 46, 67, 165, 167, 185, 200, 204, 219, 220  
 embassy, 32  
 Emmaus, 165  
 encomium, 42, 48, 49, 50  
 Ephesian, 91, 202, 205, 212  
 Ephesus, viii, 4, 8, 15, 69, 75, 87, 91, 110, 111, 112, 113, 119, 121, 126, 128, 139, 140, 212, 220  
 epigraphy, 23, 26  
 Equus Traiani, 81  
*ethne*, 66  
 ethnicity, 87, 134, 176  
*euergetes*, 72, 73  
 euergeticism, 15, 53, 69, 72, 73, 75, 91, 109

- Eusebius, 5, 152, 155, 156  
*ex manubiis*, 85  
 exemplar, 15, 53, 55, 57, 88, 91, 130, 161  
*exemplum*, 69  
 exorcism, 110  
 expansionism, 86
- faith, 6, 65, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 110, 119,  
 134, 136, 137, 141, 144, 165  
*falx*, 35  
 famine, 4, 75, 97, 101, 108  
 fear, 57, 113  
 Felix, 5, 145, 168, 172  
 Festus, 5, 97, 114  
 fever, 117  
 fire, 117, 151, 157, 177  
 Flavian dynasty, 13, 57, 150, 151  
 flesh, 95, 149, 168  
 forgiveness, 4, 32, 97, 159, 166, 184  
 fortitude, 49  
 Forum Augusti, 79  
 Forum Iulium, 79, 81  
 Forum Transitorium, 79  
 freedom, 121  
 frontier, 42, 75, 80, 146
- Galilean, 165  
 Gallio, 5, 139, 140, 224  
 galvanoplasty, ix  
 gate, 46, 80, 103, 104  
 gender, i, 16, 101, 164, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172,  
 173, 175, 176, 182, 186, 187, 188  
 generosity, 53, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 72,  
 73, 74, 75, 77, 88, 92, 93, 101, 107, 110, 167  
 genre, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 48, 52  
 gentile, 133, 143, 162  
 geography, 91, 128, 174  
 gift, 73, 74, 87, 100, 107  
*gloria*, 31, 45  
 God, 3, 8, 15, 20, 56, 72, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99,  
 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111,  
 113, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127,  
 128, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141,  
 168, 171, 175, 190, 192, 193, 196, 198, 204, 206,  
 207, 213, 214, 220, 221, 222, 224  
 gold, 35, 41, 62, 184  
 governor, 5, 76, 95, 96, 98, 100, 114, 125  
 grain-supply, 64  
 grave, 52  
 Great Trajanic Frieze, 40, 45, 159  
 Greece, 46, 60, 67, 72, 80, 126, 140, 202, 208,  
 209, 210, 218, 224
- Greek, xiii, 2, 4, 9, 21, 22, 38, 40, 51, 55, 60, 61,  
 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 84, 87, 88, 90, 93, 99, 101,  
 104, 108, 109, 112, 114, 124, 125, 127, 128, 137,  
 144, 145, 146, 147, 155, 156, 162, 171, 188, 192,  
 194, 195, 199, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 212, 214,  
 217, 219, 220, 223, 225
- Hadrian, 54, 55, 60, 66, 69, 85, 87, 122, 125, 126,  
 127, 128, 150, 152, 172, 173, 194, 196, 209, 211  
 hair, 32, 158  
 hand, ix, 32, 35, 45, 46, 63, 83, 117, 121, 124, 127,  
 170, 179  
 harbor, 66, 124  
 headwear, 182  
 healing, 46, 72, 92, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110,  
 111, 113, 120, 121, 165, 166  
 heaven, 82, 90, 96, 107, 113, 125, 159, 167  
 Hecataeus, 144, 145, 146, 194  
 Hellenism, 2, 55, 119, 145, 147, 202, 220  
 helmsman, ix, 39, 117, 119  
 Hermes, 57, 71, 106, 107, 110, 211, 217  
 Herod, 5, 97, 136  
 High Priest, 111, 135, 140  
 historiography, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 49, 171  
 honor, xii, 2, 27, 51, 52, 61, 65, 72, 73, 92, 106,  
 109, 110, 182, 191  
 horse, 81, 85  
 hunger, 65, 115  
 husband, 167, 170, 188
- Iavolenus Priscus, 58  
 Iconium, viii, 101, 102, 138  
 ideology, 5, 35, 36, 37, 44, 48, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64,  
 66, 68, 71, 79, 88, 100, 124, 127, 163, 169,  
 176, 188  
 imperial cult, 10, 54  
*imperium*, 2, 28, 64, 66, 67, 68, 75, 83, 89, 92, 113,  
 122, 125, 127, 128, 131, 157, 179  
*indulgentia*, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62  
*industria*, 38  
 infantry, 128  
 inscription, 36, 61, 72, 73, 78, 82, 85, 99  
*Institutio Alimentaria*, 59  
 invective, 49, 134  
 Isocrates, 56
- Italy, 13, 59, 61, 67, 68, 74, 79, 80, 86, 88, 96, 115,  
 120, 123, 129, 143, 182, 194, 195, 197, 207
- Jairus, 165  
 James, 11, 21, 41, 47, 77, 78, 80, 84, 90, 93, 99,  
 103, 123, 133, 136, 151, 154, 187, 193, 194, 197,  
 198, 199, 200, 203, 209, 212, 215, 217, 218

- Jerusalem, viii, 1, 5, 15, 90, 94, 97, 98, 99, 104, 106, 123, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 144, 150, 151, 155, 162, 165, 167, 168, 171, 188, 194, 209, 210, 215, 218  
 Jesus, 1, 3, 6, 10, 47, 50, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 120, 121, 123, 125, 127, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 141, 165, 166, 167, 168, 173, 174, 175, 189, 197, 203, 206, 209, 215, 219, 223, 224  
 Joel, 168, 202  
 John, 4, 9, 12, 19, 21, 27, 39, 49, 50, 66, 68, 71, 78, 79, 83, 87, 94, 97, 98, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 124, 129, 134, 137, 141, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 190, 193, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223  
 Josephus, 6, 12, 21, 134, 139, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 203, 209, 219  
 journey, xi, 102, 126, 190  
 Judas, 12, 43, 167  
 judge, 39, 107, 140, 141, 165  
 judgment, 19, 117  
 Julius, 5, 79, 115, 120  
 Jupiter, 47, 85, 151, 159  
 Justice, 117  
 Justin Martyr, 87  
 Juvenal, 148, 149, 158  
  
 land, 35, 41, 116, 154, 156, 159, 177, 184  
*laus*, 45  
 law, 50, 83, 94, 120, 139, 141, 149, 162, 165, 168  
 legion, 85, 125, 157  
 legionary, 45, 80, 153, 175, 184  
 legitimization, 2, 6, 20, 22, 131  
 Leucippe, 24  
 libation, 182, 183  
*liberalitas*, 60, 61, 62, 63  
 library, 36, 84  
 Libya, 153, 155, 156  
 List of Nations, 201  
 Livy, 123  
 loyalty, 109, 114, 122, 127, 144, 152, 190  
 Lycaonia, 138  
 Lydia, 167, 169, 171, 219  
 Lystra, viii, 15, 91, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113, 119, 121, 128, 138  
  
 Macedonia, 125, 140  
 magic, 111  
 magnanimity, 59  
 Malta, viii, 5, 15, 91, 114, 117, 119, 120, 121, 128, 204  
 map, 39, 67  
  
 marble, 28, 39, 81, 84  
 marches, 31  
 Marcion, 13, 221  
 Marcius Turbo, 156  
 Markets of Trajan, 76  
 Martha, 165, 166  
 martyrdom, 49  
 Mary, 21, 61, 65, 77, 88, 102, 153, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 194, 197, 198, 201, 205, 218  
 masculinity, 16, 117, 171, 173, 174, 175, 185, 186  
*mausoleum*, 36  
 memorial, 28  
 memory, v, 11, 36, 37, 40, 83, 130, 142, 154  
 mercy, ix, 32, 35, 63, 159, 179, 184  
 Mesopotamia, 80, 86, 127, 153, 156, 157  
 message, 17, 43, 44, 52, 100, 102, 111, 116, 141, 144, 150, 152, 166, 180  
 military commander, 39  
 mimesis, 50  
 Minerva, 84  
 miracle, 47, 93, 104, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113, 175  
 misanthropy, 15, 132, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 162, 194  
 moat, ix, 33  
 monument, 15, 17, 36, 38, 39, 44, 45, 85, 110, 128, 129, 151, 161, 176  
 multimedia, 1, 11, 17, 22, 26, 52, 71, 190  
*munificentia*, 60  
  
 Napoleon, ix  
 narrative mode, 1, 14, 21, 27, 41, 47, 51  
 native, 73, 82  
 Nazareth, 4, 47, 92, 104, 168  
 negotiation, 9  
 Nero, 10, 77, 127, 150  
 Nerva, 13, 36, 58, 61, 67, 68, 79, 85, 152, 153, 172, 218  
 northeaster, 115  
  
 officer, 31  
*oikoumene*, 91, 92, 94, 113, 127  
 Oppian Hill, 76  
 opponents, 40, 45, 136, 137, 140, 141, 157  
*optimus*, xii, 57, 72, 87, 110, 123, 131  
*optimus civis*, 72  
 oracle, 43, 168, 169  
 oratory, 48, 101  
 Ostia, 78, 123, 124  
  
*Panhellenion*, 66, 87, 125, 126, 127, 128, 211  
 parable, 165  
 paradigmatic figure, 58

- pardon, ix, xii, 33, 35, 63, 95, 179  
*parens*, 60, 67  
 Parthian, 78, 156, 157  
*Parthicus*, 85  
*pater patriae*, 67, 68  
*patria*, 91, 122, 126, 127  
 patron, 15, 53, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 92, 93, 101, 104, 106, 109, 110, 122, 131, 174  
 patronage, 53, 58, 64, 71, 74, 75, 77, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 109, 110, 113, 119, 121, 127, 131, 153  
*patronus*, 72, 77, 87, 120  
 pavonazetto, 84  
 peace, 28, 32, 76, 85, 120, 121, 123, 124, 130, 150, 155, 181  
 Pentecost, 168, 170  
 persecution, 94, 95, 109, 138, 149, 170  
 Peter, 3, 4, 9, 11, 17, 21, 23, 24, 43, 44, 46, 51, 83, 92, 93, 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 133, 136, 141, 143, 144, 151, 162, 165, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 174, 187, 193, 194, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210, 211, 215, 216, 219, 222, 223, 224  
 Pharisee, 94, 165  
 Philip, 6, 40, 61, 88, 95, 100, 103, 155, 167, 169, 194, 199, 205, 217, 219  
 Philippi, 4, 101, 128, 169, 171  
 Philostratus, 146, 147  
 Piazza Navona, 77  
*pietas*, 58, 59, 100, 111  
*plebs urbana*, 77, 87  
 Pliny the Younger, 11, 62, 96  
 Plotina, 28, 85, 172  
 Plutarch, 11, 40, 61, 88, 145, 155, 194, 205, 217, 219  
 poison, ix, 32, 34  
*politeia*, 50  
 Pompey, 64, 77, 80, 147, 153, 218  
 Pontifex Maximus, 85  
 Pontus, 47, 59, 96, 216  
 poor, 59, 75, 114, 143, 186, 188  
 pork, 144, 148, 149  
 port, 124, 182  
*Portas Traiani*, 65  
 portico, 80  
 portraiture, 14, 26, 71, 91, 92, 100, 101, 102, 112, 116, 120, 121  
 postcolonial, 3  
 power, 2, 3, 8, 16, 17, 24, 26, 37, 48, 51, 56, 57, 61, 62, 67, 68, 71, 74, 81, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 100, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 117, 119, 121, 124, 127, 131, 132, 144, 147, 150, 153, 161, 162, 166, 167, 168, 169, 174, 175, 176, 178, 180, 182, 185, 186, 196, 216  
 praise, 45, 48, 49, 50, 62, 73, 104, 106, 107, 108, 122, 145  
 pray, 167, 168  
 priest, 36, 39, 95, 111  
*princeps*, 53, 57, 59, 60, 67, 110, 123  
 Principate, 38, 51, 56, 61, 76, 153, 206, 209  
*principia*, 85  
 Priscilla, 167, 170  
 prisoner, 32, 115, 119, 120, 130  
 promise, 90, 116, 169, 171, 177, 181  
 propaganda, 7, 15, 21, 44, 48, 77, 120, 125, 130, 132, 154, 158, 172, 173  
 prophecy, 123, 169  
 prophet, 98, 105, 135, 137, 165, 166, 168, 169  
 prophetess, 169  
 pro-Roman, 5, 8  
 protection, 116, 179, 181  
 provincial, 2, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 49, 53, 58, 59, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 80, 87, 89, 91, 101, 110, 121, 122, 128, 130, 174, 177, 181, 182  
 Publius, 5, 117, 119, 120  
 rain, 47, 108, 117  
 realism, 14, 27, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52  
 Republic, 56, 66, 68, 77, 78, 202, 215, 219  
 resurrection, 148, 149, 165  
 revolt, 147, 150, 156, 157  
 reward, 63  
 rhetoric, i, 10, 14, 15, 24, 25, 35, 36, 37, 39, 44, 45, 48, 49, 60, 68, 91, 112, 113, 123, 132, 155, 162, 196  
 ritual, 83  
 river, ix, 31, 32, 41, 77, 78, 116, 117  
 Road, iv, xii, 49, 93, 96, 97, 101, 165, 206  
*Romanitas*, 39, 41, 101, 114, 117, 128, 130, 131, 177, 182  
 Rome, ix, xi, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 17, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 99, 100, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 130, 132, 135, 139, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 172, 173, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 190, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 215, 216, 218, 222, 223, 224, 225  
 Romulus, 123  
 rudder, 117  
 ruler, 40, 55, 59, 67, 70, 74, 91, 104, 114, 121  
 Rutilius Namatianus, 147  
 sacrifice, xii, 10, 107, 182  
 salvation, 97, 106, 119, 121, 124

- Sapphira, 97, 167, 188, 209  
 savior, 115, 119, 168  
 scourging, 175  
 scroll, 36  
 sculptural frieze, ix, 30, 176  
 sculpture, 23  
 sea voyage, 115  
 second century, i, 12, 14, 15, 27, 38, 53, 58, 66, 69,  
     89, 91, 149, 154, 155, 157, 162, 172, 190  
 Second Sophistic, 11  
*securitas*, 179, 180  
 self-fashioning, 11, 15, 17, 51, 53, 96  
 senate, 57, 68, 156  
 Septuagint, 123, 207  
 Sergius Paulus, 4, 6, 98, 100, 137  
 shield, 116, 179  
 ship, 115, 116, 119  
 shipwreck, 114, 117  
 shore, 115, 116  
 Sidon, 97, 115  
 snake, 117, 120  
 soldier, ix, 63, 116, 117, 179  
 son, 36, 61, 72, 85, 153, 165  
 Spain, 13, 127  
 spirit, 62, 109, 111, 120, 169  
 staircase, 28, 83  
 status, 2, 26, 27, 31, 50, 51, 52, 59, 74, 75, 91, 102,  
     103, 109, 110, 112, 114, 131, 150, 153, 157, 166,  
     168, 169, 171, 173, 185, 188, 191  
 Stephen, 11, 13, 22, 49, 50, 88, 94, 103, 104, 133,  
     135, 136, 142, 174, 187, 192, 209, 210, 212, 216,  
     220, 223, 224  
 stone, ix, 31, 32, 33, 42, 94, 138, 179, 181  
 stonewall, 63  
 storm, 115, 120, 156  
 subversion, 9  
 Suetonius, 11, 60, 144, 152, 162  
 suicide, ix, 34, 76  
 surrender, x, 32, 33, 63, 180, 181  
 synagogue, 95, 98, 137, 138, 139, 140, 158, 170  
  
 Tabitha, 167, 171  
 Table of Nations, 125  
 Tacitus, 11, 82, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 158, 162, 220  
 Tarsus, 47, 100, 137, 161  
 temple, 37, 46, 78, 80, 84, 85, 94, 103, 104, 105,  
     106, 111, 125, 135, 140, 144, 151, 165, 173  
*Templum Pacis*, 79, 85, 150  
  
 Thessalonica, viii, 5, 133, 139, 220  
 Tiber, 77, 78  
 Titus, 77, 147, 150, 151, 153, 154  
 tomb, 31, 165, 166  
 torture, x, 109, 144, 185  
 town, 5, 122, 141, 143, 158, 182  
 Traianus, 153  
 transportation, 31, 177  
 travel, xii, 41, 42, 78, 98, 114, 115, 117, 140, 175,  
     177, 182  
 tree, 35, 152  
 trench, 32, 33  
 trial, 6, 50, 96, 104, 114, 120, 121, 130, 144  
 tribe, 98, 126  
 tribunal, 139, 141  
 Tyrannus, 140  
 Tyre, 97, 169  
  
 universalism, 123, 124, 125, 171  
 urbanization, 181  
  
 Vatican, ix, 77  
 vengeance, 117  
 verisimilitude, 43, 44, 46, 47, 187  
 Vespasian, 10, 67, 71, 79, 150, 151, 152, 153,  
     196, 209  
 Victory, 81  
 viewer, 25, 28, 36, 37, 44, 45, 46, 158, 179  
 viper, 117, 175  
*vir bonus*, 57  
 Virgil, 24, 214, 218  
 virtue, 39, 49, 50, 58, 60, 62, 71, 92, 100, 102, 116,  
     120, 149, 180, 185, 186  
*virtus*, 38  
  
 water, ix, 31, 41, 88, 117, 118, 149, 177, 181  
 widow, 165  
 wife, 28, 85, 114, 167  
 woman, 161, 165, 166, 167, 169, 179, 187  
 wood, 42  
 word, 1, 27, 68, 85, 91, 98, 100, 102, 103, 109, 111,  
     127, 140, 141, 154, 158  
 wreath, 40, 81  
  
 Xenophon, 48, 56, 207  
  
 Zechariah, 165, 175  
 Zeus, 106, 107, 125



